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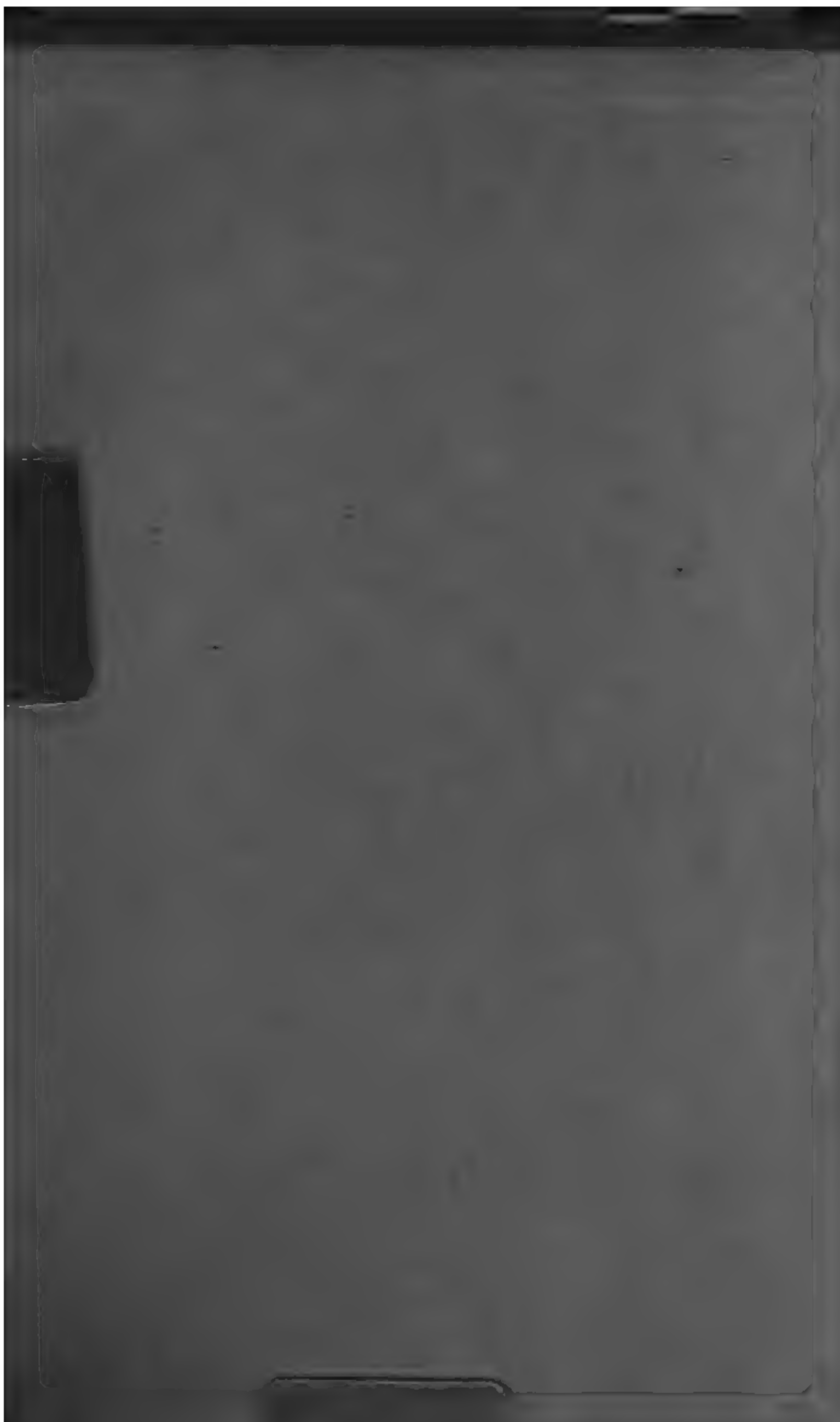
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THE
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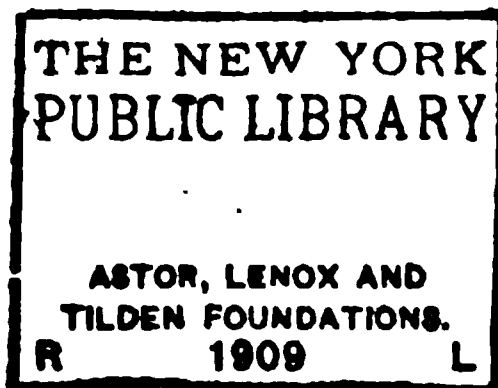
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THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

NO. 1.—JANUARY, 1893.

I.

CALVIN AND SERVETUS.

BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

THE burning of Servetus and the *decretum horribile* are sufficient in the judgment of a large part of the Christian world to condemn Calvin and his theology, but cannot destroy the rocky foundation of his rare virtues and lasting merits. History knows only of one sinless being,—the Saviour of sinners. Human greatness and purity are spotted by marks of infirmity, which forbid idolatry. Large bodies cast large shadows, and great virtues are often coupled with great vices.

Calvin and Servetus,—what a contrast! The best abused men of the sixteenth century, and yet direct antipodes of each other in spirit, doctrine and aim: the reformer and the deformer; the champion of orthodoxy and the archheretic; the master architect of construction and the master architect of ruin, brought together in deadly conflict for rule or ruin. Both were men of brilliant genius and learning; both deadly foes of the Roman Antichrist; both enthusiasts for a restoration of primitive Christianity, but with opposite views of what Christianity is.

They were of the same age, equally precocious, equally bold and independent, and relied on purely intellectual and spiritual forces. The one, while a youth of twenty-seven, wrote one of the best systems of theology and vindications of the Christian faith; the other, when scarcely above the age of twenty, ventured on the attempt to uproot the fundamental doctrine of orthodox Christendom. Both died in the prime of manhood,—the one a natural, the other a violent death.

Calvin's works are in every theological library; the books of Servetus are among the greatest rarities. Calvin left behind him flourishing churches, and his influence is felt to this day in the whole Protestant world; Servetus passed away like a meteor, without a sect, without a pupil; yet he still eloquently denounces from his funeral pile the crime and folly of religious persecution, and has recently been idealized by an orthodox Protestant divine as a prophetic forerunner of modern christo-centric theology.

Calvin felt himself called by Divine Providence to purify the Church of all corruptions, and to bring her back to the Christianity of Christ, and regarded Servetus as a servant of Antichrist, who aimed at the destruction of Christianity. Servetus was equally confident of a divine call, and even identified himself with the archangel Michael in his apocalyptic fight against the dragon of Rome and "the Simon Magus of Geneva."

A mysterious force of attraction and repulsion brought these intellectual giants together in the drama of the Reformation. Servetus, as if inspired by a demoniac force, urged himself upon the attention of Calvin, regarding him as the pope of orthodox Protestantism, whom he was determined to convert or to dethrone. He challenged Calvin in Paris to a disputation on the Trinity when the latter had scarcely left the Roman Church, but failed to appear at the appointed place and hour. He bombarded him with letters from Vienne; and at last he heedlessly rushed into his power at Geneva, and into the flames which have immortalized his name.

The judgment of historians on these remarkable men has

undergone a great change. Calvin's course in the tragedy of Servetus was fully approved by the best men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is as fully condemned in the nineteenth century. Bishop Bossuet was able to affirm that all Christians were happily agreed in maintaining the rightfulness of the death penalty for obstinate heretics, as murderers of souls. A hundred years later the great historian Gibbon echoed the opposite public sentiment when he said: "I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus than at the hecatombs which have blazed at auto-da-fés of Spain and Portugal."

It would be preposterous to compare Calvin with Torquemada. But it must be admitted that the burning of Servetus is a typical case of Protestant persecution, and makes Calvin responsible for a principle which may be made to justify an indefinite number of applications. Persecution deserves much severer condemnation in a Protestant than in a Roman Catholic, because it is inconsistent. Protestantism must stand or fall with freedom of conscience and freedom of worship.

From the standpoint of modern Christianity and civilization, the burning of Servetus admits of no justification. Even the most admiring biographers of Calvin lament and disapprove his conduct in this tragedy, which has spotted his fame and given to Servetus the glory of martyrdom.

But if we consider Calvin's course in the light of the sixteenth century, we must come to the conclusion that he acted his part from a strict sense of duty and in harmony with the public law and dominant sentiment of his age, which justified the death penalty for heresy and blasphemy, and abhorred toleration as involving indifference to truth. Even Servetus admitted the principle under which he suffered; for he said, that incorrigible obstinacy and malice deserved death before God and men.

Calvin's prominence for intolerance was his misfortune. It was an error of judgment, but not of the heart, and must be excused, though it cannot be justified, by the spirit of his age.

Calvin never changed his views or regretted his conduct towards Servetus. Nine years after his execution he justified it in self-defence against the reproaches of Baudouin (1562), saying: "Servetus suffered the penalty due to his heresies; but was it by my will? Certainly his arrogance destroyed him not less than his impiety. And what crime was it of mine if our Council, at my exhortation, indeed, but in conformity with the opinion of several churches, took vengeance on his execrable blasphemies? Let Baudouin abuse me as long as he will, provided that, by the judgment of Melanchthon, posterity owes me a debt of gratitude for having purged the Church of so pernicious a monster."

In one respect he was in advance of his times, by recommending to the Council of Geneva, though in vain, a mitigation of punishment and the substitution of the sword for the stake.

Let us give him credit for this comparative moderation in a semi-barbarous age when not only hosts of heretics, but even innocent women, as witches, were cruelly tortured and roasted to death. Let us remember also that it was not simply a case of fundamental heresy, but of horrid blasphemy, with which he had to deal. If he was mistaken, if he misunderstood the real opinions of Servetus, that was an error of judgment, and an error which all the Catholics and Protestants of that age shared. Nor should it be overlooked that Servetus was convicted of falsehood, that he overwhelmed Calvin with abuse, and that he made common cause with the Libertines, the bitter enemies of Calvin, who had a controlling influence in the Council of Geneva at that time, and hoped to overthrow him.

It is objected that there was no law in Geneva to justify the punishment of Servetus, since the canon law had been abolished by the Reformation in 1535; but the Mosaic law was not abolished, it was even more strictly enforced; and it is from the Mosaic law against blasphemy that Calvin drew his chief argument.

On the other hand, however, we must frankly admit that

there were some aggravating circumstances which make it difficult to reconcile Calvin's conduct with the principles of justice and humanity. Seven years before the death of Servetus he had expressed his determination not to spare his life if he should come to Geneva. He wrote to Farel (Feb. 13, 1546): "Servetus lately wrote to me, and coupled with his letter a long volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast, that I should see something astonishing and unheard of. He offers to come hither if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety; for if he does come, and my authority be of any avail, I shall never suffer him to depart alive." It is not inconsistent with this design if he aided, as it would seem, in bringing the book of Servetus to the notice of the Roman inquisition in Lyons. He procured his arrest on his arrival in Geneva. He showed personal bitterness towards him during the trial. Servetus was a stranger in Geneva, and had committed no offence in that city. Calvin should have permitted him quietly to depart, or simply caused his expulsion from the territory of Geneva, as in the case of Bolsec. This would have been sufficient punishment. If he had recommended expulsion instead of decapitation, he would have saved himself the reproaches of posterity, which will never forget and never forgive the burning of Servetus.

In the interest of impartial history we must condemn the intolerance of the victor as well as the error of the victim, and admire in both the loyalty to conscientious conviction. Heresy is an error; intolerance, a sin; persecution, a crime.

THE EARLY LIFE OF SERVETUS.

We shall now present a short history of the life, trial and death of Servetus. For our knowledge of the origin and youth of Servetus we have to depend on the statements which he made at his trials before the Roman Catholic court at Vienne in April, 1553, and before the Calvinistic court at Geneva in August of the same year. These depositions are meagre and inconsistent, either from defect of memory or want of honesty.

In Geneva he could not deceive the judges, as Calvin was well acquainted with his antecedents. I give, therefore, the preference to his later testimony.

Michael Serveto, better known in the Latinized form Servetus, also called Reves, was born at Villa-neuva or Villanova in Aragon (hence "Villanovanus"), in 1509, the year of the nativity of Calvin, his great antagonist. He informed the court of Geneva that he was of an ancient and noble Spanish race, and that his father was a lawyer and notary by profession.

The hypothesis that he was of Jewish or Moorish extraction is an unwarranted inference from his knowledge of Hebrew and the Koran.

He was slender and delicate in body, but precocious, inquisitive, imaginative, acute, independent and inclined to mysticism and fanaticism. He seems to have received his early education in a Dominican convent and in the University of Saragossa, with a view at first to the clerical vocation.

He was sent by his father to the celebrated law-school of Toulouse, where he studied jurisprudence for two or three years. The University of Toulouse was strictly orthodox, and kept a close watch against the Lutheran heresy. But it was there that he first saw a complete copy of the Bible, as Luther did after he entered the University of Erfurt.

The Bible now became his guide. He fully adopted the Protestant principle of the supremacy and sufficiency of the Bible, but subjected it to his speculative fancy, and carried opposition to Catholic tradition much farther than the Reformers did. He rejected the œcumenical orthodoxy, while they rejected only the mediæval scholastic orthodoxy. It is characteristic of his mystical turn of mind that he made the Apocalypse the basis of his speculations, while the sober and judicious Calvin never commented on this book, of which it has been said that it either finds one crazy or leaves one crazy.

Servetus declared, in his first work, that the Bible was the source of all his philosophy and science, to be read a thousand

times. He called it a gift of God descended from heaven. Next to the Bible he esteemed the ante-Nicene Fathers, because of their simpler and less definite teaching. He quotes them freely in his first book.

We do not know whether, and how far, he was influenced by the writings of the Reformers. He may have read some tracts of Luther, which were early translated into Spanish, but he does not quote from them.

We next find Servetus in the employ of Juan Quintana, a Franciscan friar and confessor to the Emperor Charles V. He seems to have attended his court at the coronation by Pope Clement VII. in Bologna (1529), and on the journey to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, which forms an epoch in the history of the Lutheran Reformation. At Augsburg he may have seen Melancthon and other leading Lutherans; but he was too young and unknown to attract much attention.

In the autumn of 1530 he was dismissed from the service of Quintana; we do not know for what reason, probably on suspicion of heresy.

We have no account of a conversion or moral struggle in any period of his life, such as the Reformers passed through. He never was a Protestant, either Lutheran or Reformed, but a radical at war with all orthodoxy. A mere youth of twenty-one or two, he boldly or imprudently struck out an independent path as a Reformer of the Reformation. The Socinian society did not yet exist; and even there he would not have felt at home, nor would he have long been tolerated. Nominally, he remained in the Roman Church, and felt no scruple about conforming to its rites. As he stood alone, so he died alone, leaving an influence, but no school nor sect.

From Germany Servetus went to Switzerland, and spent some time at Basel. There he first ventilated his heresies on the Trinity and the divinity of Christ.

He importuned Œcolampadius with interviews and letters, hoping to convert him. But Œcolampadius was startled and horrified. He informed his friends, Bucer, Zwingli and Bul-

linger, who happened to be at Basel in October, 1530, that he had been troubled of late by a hot-headed Spaniard, who denied the divine trinity and the eternal divinity of our Saviour. Zwingli advised him to try to convince Servetus of his error, and by good and wholesome arguments to win him over to the truth. Ecolampadius said that he could make no impression upon the haughty, daring and contentious man. Zwingli replied: "This is indeed a thing insufferable in the Church of God. Therefore do everything possible to prevent the spread of such dreadful blasphemy." Zwingli never saw the objectionable book in print.

Servetus sought to satisfy Ecolampadius by a misleading confession of faith; but the latter was not deceived by the explanations, and exhorted him to "confess the Son of God to be co-equal and co-eternal with the Father;" otherwise he could not acknowledge him as a Christian.

THE BOOK AGAINST THE HOLY TRINITY.

Servetus was too vain and obstinate to take advice. In the beginning of 1531 he secured a publisher for his book on the "Errors of the Trinity," Conrad Kœnig, who had two shops at Basel and Strassburg; sent the manuscript to Secerius, a printer at Hagenau in Alsace. Servetus went to that place to read the proof. He also visited Bucer and Capito at Strassburg, who received him with courtesy and kindness, and tried to convert him, but in vain.

In July, 1531, the book appeared under the name of the author, and was furnished to the trade at Strassburg, Frankfurt and Basel, but nobody knew where and by whom it was published. Suspicion fell upon Basel.

This book is a very original and, for so young a man, very remarkable treatise on the Trinity and Incarnation in opposition to the traditional and œcumenical faith. The style is crude and obscure, and not to be compared with Calvin's, who at the same age and in his earliest writings, showed himself a master of lucid, methodical and convincing statement in ele-

gant and forcible Latin. Servetus was familiar with the Bible, the ante-Nicene Fathers (Tertullian and Irenæus), and scholastic theology, and teemed with new, but ill-digested ideas, which he threw out like a firebrand. He afterwards embodied his first work in his last, but in revised shape.

It is not surprising that this book gave great offence to Catholics and Protestants alike, and appeared to them blasphemous. Servetus calls the Trinitarians tritheists and atheists, and their God a deception of the devil and a three-headed monster.

Cochlæus directed the attention of Quintana, at the Diet of Regensburg, in 1532, to the book of Servetus which was sold there, and Quintana at once took measures to suppress it. The Emperor prohibited it, and the book soon disappeared.

SERVETUS IN FRANCE.

As Servetus was repulsed by the Reformers of Switzerland and Germany, he left for France, and assumed the name of Michel de Villeneuve. His real name and his obnoxious books disappeared from the sight of the world till they emerged twenty years later at Vienne and at Geneva. He devoted himself to the study of mathematics, geography, astrology and medicine.

In 1534 he was in Paris, and challenged the young Calvin to a disputation, but failed to appear at the appointed hour.

He spent some time at Lyons as proof-reader and publisher of the famous printers, Melchior and Caspar Trechsel. He issued through them, in 1535, under the name of "Villanovanus," a magnificent edition of Ptolemy's Geography, with a self-laudatory preface, which concludes with the hope that "no one will underestimate the labor, though pleasant in itself, that is implied in the collation of our text with that of earlier editions, unless it be some Zoilus of contracted brow, who cannot look without envy upon the zealous labors of others." A second and improved edition appeared in 1541.

From Lyons he returned to Paris in 1536, and acquired

fame as a physician and lecturer in the university. He discovered the circulation of the blood.

In 1540 he settled at Vienne, in the south of France, as physician, under the patronage of Archbishop Palmier, his former pupil and admirer. He was not suspected of heresy, but lived on good terms with the Catholic authorities, and regularly attended mass.

"THE RESTITUTION OF CHRISTIANITY."

During his sojourn at Vienna, Servetus prepared his chief theological work under the title, "The Restitution of Christianity." He must have finished the greater part of it in manuscript as early as 1546, seven years before its publication in print; for in that year he sent a copy to Calvin, which he tried to get back to make some corrections, but Calvin had sent it to Viret at Lausanne, where it was detained. It was afterwards used at the trial and ordered by the Council of Geneva to be burnt at the stake, together with the printed volume.

The proud title indicates the pretentious and radical character of the book. It was chosen, probably, with reference to Calvin's "Institution of the Christian Religion." In opposition to the great Reformer he claimed to be a Restorer. The Hebrew motto on the title-page was taken from Dan. 12: 1: "And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince;" the Greek motto from Rev. 12: 7: "And there was war in heaven," which is followed by the words, "Michael and his angels going forth to war with the dragon; and the dragon warred, and his angels; and they prevailed not, neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast down, the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world."

The identity of the Christian name of the author with the name of the archangel is significant. Servetus fancied that the great battle with Antichrist was near at hand or had already begun, and that he was one of Michael's warriors, if not Michael himself.

His "Restitution of Christianity" was a manifesto of war. The woman in the twelfth chapter of Revelation he understood to be the true Church; her child, whom God saves, is the Christian faith; the great red dragon with seven heads and horns is the pope of Rome, the Antichrist predicted by Daniel, Paul and John. At the time of Constantine and the Council of Nicæa, which divided the one God into three parts, the Dragon began to drive the true Church into the wilderness, and retained his power for twelve hundred and sixty prophetic days or years; but now his reign is approaching to a close.

He was fully conscious of a divine mission to overthrow the tyranny of the papal and Protestant Antichrist, and to restore Christianity to its primitive purity. "The task we have undertaken," he says in the preface, "is sublime in majesty, easy in perspicuity, and certain in demonstration; for it is no less than to make God known in His substantial manifestation by the Word and His divine communication by the Spirit, both comprised in Christ alone, through whom alone do we plainly discern how the deity of the Word and the Spirit may be apprehended in man. . . . We shall now see God, unseen before, with His face revealed, and behold Him shining in ourselves, if we open the door and enter in. It is high time to open this door and this way of the light, without which no one can read the sacred Scriptures, or know God, or become a Christian."

He forwarded the manuscript to a publisher in Basel, Marinus, who declined it in a letter, dated April 9, 1552, because it could not be safely published in that city at that time. He then made an arrangement with Balthasar Arnoullet, bookseller and publisher at Vienne, and Guillaume Guérout, his brother-in-law and manager of his printing establishment, who had run away from Geneva for bad conduct. He assured them that there were no errors in the book, and that, on the contrary, it was directed against the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, Melancthon and other heretics. He agreed to withhold his and their names and the name of the place of publication from the title-page. He assumed the whole of the expense of publication, and

paid them in advance the sum of one hundred gold dollars. No one in France knew at that time that his real name was Servetus, and that he was the author of the work, "On the Errors of the Trinity."

The "Restitution" was secretly printed in a small house away from the known establishment, within three or four months, and finished on the third of January, 1553. He corrected the proofs himself, but there are several typographical errors in it. The whole impression of one thousand copies were made up into bales of one hundred copies each; five bales were sent as white paper to Pierre Martin, type-founder of Lyons, to be forwarded by sea to Genoa and Venice; another lot to Jacob Bestet, bookseller at Chatillon; and a third to Frankfort. Calvin obtained one or more copies, probably from his friend Frelon of Lyons.

The first part of the "Restitution" is a revised and enlarged edition of the seven books "On the Errors of the Trinity." The seven books are condensed into five; and these are followed by two dialogues on the Trinity between Michael and Peter, which take the place of the sixth and seventh books of the older work. The other part of the "Restitution," which covers nearly two-thirds of the volume (pp. 287-734), is new, and embraces three books on Faith and the Righteousness of the Kingdom of Christ (287-354), four books on Regeneration and the Reign of Antichrist (355-576), thirty letters to Calvin (577-664), Sixty Signs of Antichrist (-664-670), and the Apology to Melanchthon on the Mystery of the Trinity and on Ancient Discipline (671-734).

THE TRIAL AND CONDEMNATION OF SERVETUS AT VIENNE.

Shortly after the publication of the "Restitution" the fact was made known to the Roman Catholic authorities at Lyons through Guillaume Trie, a native of Lyons and a convert from Romanism, residing at that time in Geneva. He corresponded with a cousin at Lyons, by the name of Arneys, a zealous Romanist, who tried to reconvert him to his religion, and reproached the Church of Geneva with the want of discipline.

On the 26th of February, 1553, he wrote to Arneys that in Geneva vice and blasphemy were punished, while in France a dangerous heretic was tolerated, who deserved to be burned by Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, who blasphemed the holy Trinity, called Jesus Christ an idol, and the baptism of infants a diabolic invention. He gave his name as Michael Servetus, who called himself at present Villeneuve, a practicing physician at Vienne. In confirmation he sent the first leaf of the "Restitution," and named the printer Balthasar Arnoullet at Vienne.

This letter, and two others of Trie which followed, look very much as if they had been directed or inspired by Calvin. Servetus held him responsible. But Calvin denied the imputation as a calumny. At the same time he speaks rather lightly of it, and thinks that it would not have been dishonorable to denounce so dangerous a heretic to the proper authorities. He also frankly acknowledges that he caused his arrest at Geneva. He could see no material difference in principle between doing the same indirectly at Vienne and directly at Geneva. He simply denies that he was the originator of the papal trial and of the letter of Trie; but he does not deny that he furnished material for evidence, which was quite well known and publicly made use of in the trial where Servetus's letters to Calvin are mentioned as *pieces justificatives*. There can be no doubt that Trie, who describes himself as a comparatively unlettered man, got his information about Servetus and his book from Calvin, or his colleagues, either directly from conversation, or from pulpit denunciation. We must acquit Calvin of *direct* agency, but we cannot free him of indirect agency in this denunciation.

Calvin's indirect agency in the first, and his direct agency in the second arrest of Servetus admit of no proper justification, and are due to an excess of zeal for orthodoxy.

Arneys conveyed this information to the Roman Catholic authorities. The matter was brought to the knowledge of Cardinal Thurnon, at that time archbishop of Lyons, a cruel persecutor of the Protestants, and Matthias Ory, a regularly trained

inquisitor of the Roman see for the kingdom of France. They at once instituted judicial proceedings.

Villeneuve was summoned before the civil court of Vienne on the 16th of March. He kept the judges waiting two hours (during which he probably destroyed all suspicious papers), and appeared without any show of embarrassment. He affirmed that he had lived long at Vienne, in frequent company with ecclesiastics, without incurring any suspicion for heresy, and had always avoided all cause of offence. His apartments were searched, but nothing was found to incriminate him. On the following day the printing establishment of Arnoullet was searched with no better result. On the return of Arnoullet from a journey he was summoned before the tribunal, but he professed ignorance.

Inquisitor Ory now requested Arneys to secure additional proof from his cousin at Geneva. Trie forwarded on the 26th of March several autograph letters of Servetus which, he said, he had great difficulty in obtaining from Calvin (who ought to have absolutely refused). He added some pages from Calvin's *Institutes* with the marginal objections of Servetus to infant baptism in his handwriting. Ory, not yet satisfied, despatched a special messenger to Geneva to secure the manuscript of the *Restitutio*, and proof that Villeneuve was Servetus and Arnoullet his printer. Trie answered at once, on the last of March, that the manuscript of the *Restitutio* had been at Lausanne for a couple of years (with Viret), that Servetus had been banished from the churches of Germany (Basel and Strassburg) twenty-four years ago, and that Arnoullet and Guérout were his printers, as he knew from a good source which he would not mention (perhaps Frelon of Lyons).

The cardinal of Lyons and the archbishop of Vienne, after consultation with Inquisitor Ory and other ecclesiastics, now gave orders on the 4th of April for the arrest of Villeneuve and Arnoullet. They were confined in separate rooms in the Palais Delphinal. Villeneuve was allowed to keep a servant, and to see his friends. Ory was sent forth, hastened to Vienne, and arrived there the next morning.

After dinner Servetus, having been sworn on the Holy Gospels, was interrogated as to his name, age, and course of life. In his answers he told some palpable falsehoods to mislead the judges, and to prevent his being identified with Servetus, the heretic. He omitted to mention his residence in Toulouse, where he had been known under his real name, as the books of the University would show. He denied that he had written any other books than those on medicine and geography, although he had corrected many. On being shown some notes he had written on Calvin's *Institutes* about infant baptism, he acknowledged at last the authorship of the notes, but added that he must have written them inconsiderately for the purpose of discussion, and he submitted himself entirely to his holy Mother, the Church, from whose teachings he had never wished to differ.

At the second examination, on the sixth day of April, he was shown some of his epistles to Calvin. He declared, with tears in his eyes, that those letters were written when he was in Germany some twenty-five years ago, when there was printed in that country a book by a certain Servetus, a Spaniard, but from what part of Spain he did not know. At Paris he had heard Mons. Calvin spoken of as a learned man, and had entered into correspondence with him from curiosity, but begged him to keep his letters as confidential and as brotherly corrections. Calvin suspected, he continued, that I was Servetus, to which I replied, I was not Servetus, but would continue to personate Servetus in order to continue the discussion. Finally we fell out, got angry, abused each other, and broke off the correspondence about ten years ago. He protested before God and his judges that he had no intention to dogmatize or to teach anything against the Church or the Christian religion. He told similar lies when other letters were laid before him.

Servetus now resolved to escape, perhaps with the aid of some friends, after he had secured through his servant a debt of three hundred crowns from the Grand Prior of the monastery of St. Pierre. On the 7th of April, at four o'clock in the morning, he dressed himself, threw a night-gown over his clothes, and put

a velvet cap upon his head, and, pretending a call of nature, he secured from the unsuspecting jailer the key to the garden. He leaped from the roof of the outhouse and made his escape through the court and over the bridge across the Rhone. He carried with him his golden chain around his neck, valued at twenty crowns, six gold rings on his fingers, and plenty of money in his pockets.

Two hours elapsed before his escape became known. An alarm was given, the gates were closed, and the neighboring houses searched; but all in vain.

Nevertheless the prosecution went on. Sufficient evidence was found that the "Restitution" had been printed in Vienne; extracts were made from it to prove the heresies contained therein. The civil court, without waiting for the judgment of the spiritual tribunal (which was not given until six months afterwards), sentenced Servetus on the 17th of June, for heretical doctrines, for violation of the royal ordinances, and for escape from the royal prison, to pay a fine of one thousand *livres tournois* to the Dauphin, to be carried in a cart, together with his books, on a market-day through the principal streets to the place of execution, and to be burnt alive by a slow fire.

On the same day he was burnt in effigy, together with the five bales of his book, which had been consigned to Merrin at Lyons and brought back to Vienne.

The goods and chattels of the fugitive were seized and confiscated. The property he had acquired from his medical practice and literary labors amounted to four thousand crowns. The king bestowed them on the son of Monsieur d' Montgiron, lieutenant-general of Dauphiné and presiding judge of the court.

Arnoullet was discharged on proving that he had been deceived by Guérout, who seems to have escaped by flight. He took care that the remaining copies of the heretical book in France should be destroyed. Stephens, the famous publisher, who had come to Geneva in 1552, sacrificed the copies in his hands. Those that had been sent to Frankford were burnt at the instance of Calvin.

On the 23d of December, two months after the execution of Servetus, the ecclesiastical tribunal of Vienne pronounced a sentence of condemnation on him.

SERVETUS FLEES TO GENEVA AND IS ARRESTED.

Escaped from one danger of death, Servetus, as by "a fatal madness," as Calvin says, rushed into another. Did he aspire to the glory of martyrdom in Geneva, as he seemed to intimate in his letter to Poupin? But he had just escaped martyrdom in France. Or did he wish to have a personal interview with Calvin, which he had sought in Paris in 1534, and again in Vienne in 1546? But after publishing his abusive letters and suspecting him for denunciation, he could hardly entertain such a wish. Or did he merely intend to pass through the place on his way to Italy? But in this case he need not tarry there for weeks, and he might have taken another route through Savoy, or by the sea. Or did he hope to dethrone "the pope of Geneva" with the aid of his enemies, who had just then the political control of the Republic?

He lingered in France for about three months. He intended, first, as he declared at the trial, to proceed to Spain, but finding the journey unsafe, he turned his eye to Naples, where he hoped to make a living as physician among the numerous Spanish residents. This he could easily have done under a new name.

He took his way through Geneva. He arrived there after the middle of July, 1553, alone and on foot, having left his horse on the French border. He took up his lodging in the Auberge de la Rose, a small inn on the banks of the lake. His dress and manner, his gold chain and gold rings, excited attention. On being asked by his host whether he was married, he answered, like a light-hearted cavalier, that women enough could be found without marrying? This frivolous reply provoked suspicion of immorality, and was made use of at the trial, but unjustly, for a fracture disabled him for marriage and prevented libertinage.

He remained about a month, and then intended to leave for Zürich. He asked his host to hire a boat to convey him over the lake some distance eastward.

But before his departure he attended church, on Sunday, the 13th of August. He was recognized and arrested by an officer of the police in the name of the Council.

Calvin was responsible for his arrest, as he frankly and repeatedly acknowledged. It was a fatal mistake. Servetus was a stranger and had committed no offence in Geneva. Calvin ought to have allowed him quietly to proceed on his intended journey. Why then did he act otherwise? Certainly not from personal malice, nor other selfish reasons; for he only increased the difficulty of his critical situation, and run the risk of his defeat by the Libertine party then in power. It was an error of judgment. He was under the false impression that Servetus had just come from Venice, the headquarters of Italian humanists and skeptics, to propagate his errors in Geneva, and he considered it his duty to make so dangerous a man harmless, by bringing him either to conviction and recantation, or to deserved punishment. He was determined to stand or fall with the principle of purity of doctrine and discipline. Rilliet justifies the arrest as a necessary measure of self-defence. "Under pain of abdication," he says, "Calvin must do everything rather than suffer by his side in Geneva a man whom he considered the greatest enemy of the Reformation; and the critical position in which he saw it in the bosom of the Republic, was one motive more to remove, if it was possible, the new element of dissolution which the free sojourn of Servetus would have created. . . . To tolerate Servetus with impunity at Geneva would have been for Calvin to exile himself. . . . He had no alternative. The man whom a Calvinist accusation had caused to be arrested, tried, and condemned to the flames in France, could not find an asylum in the city from which that accusation had issued."

STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AT GENEVA IN 1553.

Calvin's position in Geneva at that time was very critical. For in the year 1553 he was in the fever-heat of the struggle for church discipline with the Patriots and Libertines, who had gained a temporary ascendancy in the government. Amy Perrin, the leader of the patriotic party, was then captain-general and chief syndic, and several of his kinsmen and friends were members of the Little Council of Twenty-five. During the trial of Servetus the Council sustained Philibert Berthelier, against the act of excommunication by the Consistory, and took church discipline into its own hands. The foreign refugees were made harmless by being deprived of their arms. Violence was threatened to the Reformer. He was everywhere saluted as "a heretic," and insulted on the streets. Beza says: "In the year 1553, the wickedness of the seditious, hastening to a close, was so turbulent that both Church and State were brought into extreme danger. . . . Everything seemed to be in a state of preparation for accomplishing the plans of the seditious, since all was subject to their power." And Calvin, at the close of that year, wrote to a friend: "For four years the factions have done all to lead by degrees to the overthrow of this Church, already very weak. . . . Behold two years of our life have passed as if we lived among the avowed enemies of the gospel."

The hostility of the Council to Calvin and his discipline continued even after the execution of Servetus for nearly two more years. He asked the assistance of Bullinger and the Church of Zurich to come to his aid again in this struggle. He wrote to Ambrose Blaurer, February 6, 1554: "These last few years evil disposed persons have not ceased on every occasion to create for us new subjects of vexation. At length in their endeavors to render null our excommunication, there is no excess of folly they have left unattempted. Everywhere the contest was long maintained with much violence, because in the senate and among the people the passions of the contending

parties had been so much inflamed that there was some risk of a tumult."

We do not know whether Servetus was aware of this state of things. But he could not have come at a time more favorable to him and more unfavorable to Calvin. Among the Libertines and Patriots, who hated the yoke of Calvin even more than the yoke of the pope, Servetus found natural supporters who, in turn, would gladly use him for political purposes. This fact emboldened him to take such a defiant attitude in the trial and to overwhelm Calvin with abuse.

The final responsibility of the condemnation, therefore, rests with the Council of Geneva, which would probably have acted otherwise, if it had not been strongly influenced by the judgment of the Swiss Churches and the government of Bern. Calvin conducted the theological part of the examination of the trial, but had no direct influence upon the result. His theory was that the Church must convict and denounce the heretic theologically, but that his condemnation and punishment is the exclusive function of the State, and that it is one of its most sacred duties to punish attacks made on the Divine majesty.

"From the time Servetus was convicted of his heresy," says Calvin, "I have not uttered a word about his punishment, as all honest men will bear witness; and I challenge even the malignant to deny it if they can." One thing only he did: he expressed the wish for a mitigation of his punishment. And this humane sentiment is almost the only good thing that can be recorded to his honor in this painful trial.

THE FIRST ACT OF THE TRIAL AT GENEVA.

Servetus was confined near the Church of St. Pierre, in the ancient residence of the bishops of Geneva, which had been turned into a prison. His personal property consisted of ninety-seven crowns, a chain of gold weighing about twenty crowns, and six gold rings (a large turquoise, a white sapphire, a diamond, a ruby, a large emerald of Peru, and a signet ring of

coralline). These valuables were surrendered to Pierre Tissot, and after the process given to the hospital. The prisoner was allowed to have paper and ink, and such books as could be procured at Geneva or Lyons at his own expense. Calvin lent him Ignatius, Polycarp, Tertullian, and Irenæus. But he was denied the benefit of counsel, according to the ordinances of 1543. This is contrary to the law of equity and is one of the worst features of the trial.

The laws of Geneva demanded that the accuser should become a prisoner with the accused, in order that in the event of the charge proving false, the former might undergo punishment in the place of the accused. The person employed for this purpose was Nicolas de la Fontaine, a Frenchman, a theological student, and Calvin's private secretary. The accused as well as the accuser were foreigners. Another law obliged the Little Council to examine every prisoner within twenty-four hours after his arrest. The advocate or "Speaker" of Nicolas de la Fontaine in the trial was Germain Colladon, likewise a Frenchman and an able lawyer, who had fled for his religion, and aided Calvin in framing a new constitution for Geneva.

The trial began on the 15th of August and continued, with interruptions for more than two months. It was conducted in French and took place in the Bishop's Palace, according to the forms prescribed by law, in the presence of the Little Council, the herald of the city, the Lord-Lieutenant, and several citizens, who had a right to sit in criminal processes, but did not take part in the judgment. Among these was Berthelier, the bitter enemy of Calvin.

Servetus answered the preliminary questions as to his name, age, and previous history more truthfully than he had done before the Catholic tribunal, and incidentally accused Calvin of having caused the prosecution at Vienne. It is not owing to Calvin, he said, that he was not burnt alive there.

The deed of accusation, as lodged by Nicolas de la Fontaine, consisted of thirty-eight articles which were drawn up by Calvin (as he himself informs us), and were fortified by references to

the books of Servetus, which were produced in evidence, especially the "Restitution of Christianity," both the manuscript copy, which Servetus had sent to Calvin in advance, and a printed copy.

The principal charges were, that he had published heretical opinions and blasphemies concerning the Trinity, the person of Christ, and infant baptism. He gave evasive or orthodox-sounding answers. He confessed to believe in the trinity of persons, but understood the word "person" in a different sense from that used by modern writers, and appealed to the first teachers of the Church and the disciples of the apostles. He denied at first that he had called the Trinity three devils and Cerberus; but he had done so repeatedly and confessed it afterwards. He professed to believe that Jesus Christ was the Son of God according to His divinity and humanity; that the flesh of Christ came from heaven and of the substance of God; but as to the matter it came from the Virgin Mary. He denied the view imputed to him that the soul was mortal. He admitted that he had called infant baptism "a diabolical invention and infernal falsehood destructive of Christianity." This was a dangerous admission; for the Anabaptists were suspected of seditious and revolutionary opinions.

He was also charged with having, "in the person of M. Calvin, defamed the doctrines of the gospel and of the Church of Geneva." To this he replied that in what he had formerly written against Calvin, in his own defence, he had not intended to injure him, but to show him his errors and faults, which he was ready to prove by Scripture and good reasons before a full congregation.

This was a bold challenge. Calvin was willing to accept it, but the Council declined, fearing to lose the control of the affair by submitting it to the tribunal of public opinion. The friends of Servetus would have run the risk of seeing him defeated in public debate. That charge, however, which seemed to betray personal ill-feeling of Calvin, was afterwards very properly omitted.

On the following day, the 16th of August, Berthelier, then smarting under the sentence of excommunication by the Consistory, openly came to the defence of Servetus, and had a stormy encounter with Colladon, which is omitted in the official record, but indicated by blanks and the abrupt termination: "Here they proceeded no further, but adjourned till to-morrow at mid-day."

On Thursday, the 17th of August, Calvin himself appeared before the Council as the real accuser, and again on the 21st of August. He also conferred with his antagonist in writing. Servetus was not a match for Calvin either in learning or argument; but he showed great skill and some force.

He contemptuously repelled the frivolous charge that, in his Ptolemy, he had contradicted the authority of Moses, by describing Palestine as an unfruitful country (which it was then, and is now). He wiped his mouth and said, "Let us go on; there is nothing wrong there."

The charge of having, in his notes on the Latin Bible, explained the servant of God in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, as meaning King Cyrus, instead of the Saviour, he disposed of by distinguishing two senses of prophecy—the literal and historical sense which referred to Cyrus, and the mystical and principal sense which referred to Christ. He quoted Nicolaus de Lyra; but Calvin showed him the error, and asserts that he audaciously quoted books which he had never examined.

As to his calling the Trinity "a Cerberus" and "a dream of Augustin," and the Trinitarians "atheists," he said that he did not mean the true Trinity, which he believed himself, but the false trinity of his opponents; and that the oldest teachers before the Council of Nicæa did not teach that trinity, and did not use the word. Among them he quoted Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Rome, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. Calvin refuted his assertion by quotations from Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Origen. On this occasion he charges him, unjustly, with total ignorance of Greek, because he was

embarrassed by a Greek quotation from Justin Martyr, and called for a Latin version.

In discussing the relation of the divine substance to that of the creatures, Servetus declared that "all creatures are of the substance of God, and that God is in all things." Calvin asked him "How, unhappy man, if any one strike the pavement with his foot and say that he tramples on thy God, wouldst thou not be horrified at having the Majesty of heaven subjected to such indignity?" To this Servetus replied: "I have no doubt that this bench, and this buffet, and all you can show me, are of the substance of God." When it was objected that in his view God must be substantially even in the devil, he burst out into a laugh, and rejoined: "Can you doubt this? I hold this for a general maxim, that all things are part and parcel of God, and that the nature of things is his substantial Spirit."

The result of this first act of the trial was unfavorable to the prisoner, but not decisive.

Calvin used the freedom of the pulpit to counteract the efforts of the Libertine party in favor of Servetus.

THE SECOND ACT OF THE TRIAL AT GENEVA.

The original prosecution being discharged, the case was handed over to the attorney-general, Claude Rigot, in compliance with the criminal ordinance of 1543. Thus the second act of the trial began. The prisoner was examined again, and a new indictment of thirty articles was prepared, which bore less on the actual heresies of the accused than on their dangerous practical tendency and his persistency in spreading them.

The Council wrote also to the judges of Vienne to procure particulars of the charges which had been brought against him there.

Servetus defended himself before the Council on the 23d of August, with ingenuity and apparent frankness against the new charges of quarrelsomeness and immorality. As to the latter, he pleaded his physical infirmity which protected him against the temptation of licentiousness. He had always studied the

Scripture and tried to lead a Christian life. He did not think that his book would disturb the peace of Christendom, but would promote the truth. He denied that he had come to Geneva for any sinister purpose; he merely wished to pass through on his way to Zürich and Naples.

At the same time he prepared a written petition to the Council, which was received on the 24th of August. He demanded his release from the criminal charge for several reasons, which ought to have had considerable weight: that it was unknown in the Christian Church before the time of Constantine to try cases of heresy before a civil tribunal; that he had not offended against the laws either in Geneva or elsewhere; that he was not seditious nor turbulent; that his books treated of abstruse questions, and were addressed to the learned; that he had not spoken of these subjects to anybody but *Æcolampadius*, *Bucer*, and *Capito*; that he had ever refuted the Anabaptists, who rebelled against the magistrates and wished to have all things in common. In case he was not released, he demanded the aid of an advocate acquainted with the laws and customs of the country. Certainly a very reasonable request.

The attorney-general prepared a second indictment in refutation of the arguments of Servetus, who had studied law at Toulouse. He showed that the first Christian emperors claimed for themselves the cognizance and trial of heresies, and that their laws and constitutions condemned antitrinitarian heretics and blasphemers to death. He charged him with falsehood in declaring that he had written against the Anabaptists, and that he had not communicated his doctrine to any person during the last thirty years. The counsel asked for was refused because it was forbidden by the criminal statutes (1543), and because there was "not one jot of apparent innocence which requires an attorney." The very thing to be proved!

A new examination followed which elicited some points of interest. Servetus stated his belief that the Reformation would progress much further than Luther and Calvin intended, and that new things were always first rejected, but afterwards received.

To the absurd charge of making use of the Koran, he replied that he had quoted it for the glory of Christ, 'that the Koran abounds in what is good, and that even in a wicked book one might find some good things.

On the last day of August the Little Council received answer from Vienne. The commandant of the royal palace in that city arrived in Geneva, communicated to them a copy of the sentence of death pronounced against Villeneuve, and begged them to send him back to France that the sentence might be executed on the living man as it had been already executed on his effigy and books. The Council refused to surrender Servetus, in accordance with analogous cases, but promised to do full justice. The prisoner himself, who could see only a burning funeral pile for him in Vienne, preferred to be tried in Geneva, where he had some chance of acquittal or lighter punishment. He incidentally justified his habit of attending mass at Vienne by the example of Paul, who went to the temple, like the Jews; yet he confessed that in doing so he had sinned through fear of death.

The communication from Vienne had probably the influence of stimulating the zeal of the Council for orthodoxy. They wished not to be behind the Roman Church in that respect. But the issue was still uncertain.

The Council again confronted Servetus with Calvin on the first day of September. On the same day it granted, in spite of the strong protest of Calvin, permission to Philibert Berthelier to approach the communion table. It thus annulled the act of excommunication by the Consistory, and arrogated to itself the power of ecclesiastical discipline.

A few hours afterwards the investigation was resumed in the prison. Perrin and Berthelier were present as judges, and came to the aid of Servetus in the oral debate with Calvin, but, it seems, without success; for they resorted to a written discussion in which Servetus could better defend himself, and in which Calvin might complicate his already critical position. They wished, moreover, to refer the affair to the churches of Switzerland, which, in the case of Bolsec, had shown themselves much

more tolerant than Calvin. Servetus demanded such reference. Calvin did not like it, but did not openly oppose it.

The Council, without entering on the discussion, decided that Calvin should extract in Latin, from the books of Servetus, the objectionable articles, word for word, contained therein; that Servetus should write his answers and vindications, also in Latin; that Calvin should in his turn furnish his replies; and that these documents be forwarded to the Swiss Churches as a basis of judgment. All this was fair and impartial.

On the same day Calvin extracted thirty-eight propositions from the books of Servetus with references, but without comments.

Then, turning with astonishing energy from one enemy to the other, he appeared before the Little Council on the 2d of September to protest most earnestly against their protection of Berthelier, who intended to present himself on the following day as a guest at the Lord's table, and by the strength of the civil power to force Calvin to give him the tokens of the body and blood of Christ. He declared before the Council that he would rather die than act against his conscience. The Council did not yield, but resolved secretly to advise Berthelier to abstain from receiving the sacrament for the present. Calvin, ignorant of this secret advice, and resolved to conquer or to die, thundered from the pulpit of St. Peter on the 3d of September his determination to refuse, at the risk of his life, the sacred elements to an excommunicated person. Berthelier did not dare to approach the table. Calvin had achieved a moral victory over the Council.

In the mean time Servetus had, within the space of twenty-four hours, prepared a written defence, as directed by the Council, against the thirty-eight articles of Calvin. It was both apologetic and boldly aggressive, clear, keen, violent and bitter. He contemptuously repelled Calvin's interference in the trial, and charged him with presumption in framing articles of faith after the fashion of the doctors of the Sorbonne, without Scripture proof. He affirmed that he either misunderstood him or

craftily perverted his meaning. He quotes from Tertullian, Irenæus, and pseudo-Clement in support of his views. He calls him a disciple of Simon Magus, a criminal accuser, and a homicide. He ridiculed the idea that such a man should call himself an orthodox minister of the Church.

Calvin replied within two days in a document of twenty-three folio pages, which were signed by all the fourteen ministers of Geneva. He meets the patristic quotations of Servetus with counter-quotations, with Scripture passages and solid arguments, and charged him in conclusion with the intention "to subvert all religion."

These three documents, which contained the essence of the doctrinal discussion, were presented to the Little Council on Tuesday, the 5th of September.

On the 15th of September Servetus addressed a petition to the Council in which he attacked Calvin as his persecutor, complained of his miserable condition in prison and want of the necessary clothing, and demanded an advocate and the transfer of his trial to the Large Council of Two Hundred, where he had reason to expect a majority in his favor. This course had probably been suggested to him (as Rilliet conjectures) by Perrin and Berthelier through the jailer, Claude de Genève, who was a member of the Libertine party.

On the same day the Little Council ordered an improvement of the prisoner's wardrobe (which, however, was delayed by culpable neglect), and sent him the three documents, with permission to make a last reply to Calvin, but took no action on his appeal to the Large Council, having no disposition to renounce its own authority.

Servetus at once prepared a reply by the way of explanatory annotations, on the margin and between the lines of the memorial of Calvin and the ministers. These annotations are full of the coarsest abuse, and read like the productions of a madman. He calls Calvin again and again a liar, an impostor, a miserable wretch (*nebulo pessimus*), a hypocrite, a disciple of Simon Magus, etc. Take these specimens: "Do you deny that you are a man-

slayer? I will prove it by your acts. You dare not deny that you are Simon Magus. As for me, I am firm in so good a cause, and do not fear death. . . . You deal with sophistical arguments without Scripture. . . . You do not understand what you say. You howl like a blind man in the desert. . . . You lie, you lie, you lie, you ignorant calumniator. . . . Madness is in you when you persecute to death. . . . I wish that all your magic were still in the belly of your mother. . . . I wish I were free to make a catalogue of your errors. Whoever is not a Simon Magus is considered a Pelagian by Calvin. All, therefore, who have been in Christendom are damned by Calvin; even the apostles, their disciples, the ancient doctors of the Church and all the rest. For no one ever entirely abolished free-will except that Simon Magus. Thou liest, thou liest, thou liest, thou liest, thou miserable wretch."

He concludes with the remark that "his doctrine was met merely by clamors, not by argument or any authority," and he subscribed his name as one who had Christ for his certain protector.

He sent these notes to the Council on the 18th of September. It was shown to Calvin, but he did not deem it expedient to make a reply. Silence in this case was better than speech.

The debate, therefore, between the two divines was closed, and the trial became an affair of Protestant Switzerland, which should act as a jury.

CONSULTATION OF THE SWISS CHURCHES. THE DEFIANT ATTITUDE OF SERVETUS.

On the 19th of September the Little Council, in accordance with a resolution adopted on the 4th, referred the case of Servetus to the magistrates and pastors of the Reformed Churches of Bern, Zürich, Schaffhausen, and Basel for their judgment.

Two days afterwards Jaquemoz Jernoz, as the official messenger, was despatched on his mission with a circular letter and the documents,—namely the theological debate between Calvin and Servetus,—a copy of the "Restitution of Christianity,"

and the works of Tertullian and Irenæus, who were the chief patristic authorities quoted by both parties.

On the result of this mission the case of Servetus was made to depend. Servetus himself had expressed a wish that this course should be adopted, hoping, it seems, to gain a victory, or at least an escape from capital punishment. On the 22d of August he was willing to be banished from Geneva; but on the 22d of September he asked the Council to put Calvin on trial, and handed in a list of articles on which he should be interrogated. He thus admitted the civil jurisdiction in matters of religious opinions which he had formerly denied, and was willing to stake his life on the decision, provided that his antagonist should be exposed to the same fate. Among the four "great and infallible" reasons why Calvin should be condemned, he assigned the fact that he wished to "repress the truth of Jesus Christ, and follow the doctrines of Simon Magus, against all the doctors that ever were in the Church." He declared in his petition that Calvin, like a magician, ought to be exterminated, and his goods be confiscated and given to him in compensation for the loss he (Servetus) had sustained through his accuser. "To dislodge Calvin from his position," says Rilliet, "to expel him from Geneva, to satisfy a just vengeance—these were the objects toward which Servetus rushed."

But the Council took no notice of his petition.

On the 10th of October he sent another letter to the Council, imploring them, for the love of Christ, to grant him such justice as they would not refuse to a Turk, and complaining that nothing had been done for his comfort as promised, but that he was more wretched than ever. The petition had some effect. The Lord Syndic, Darlod, and the Secretary of State, Claude Roset, were directed to visit his prison and to provide some articles of dress for his relief.

On the 18th of October the messenger of the State returned with the answers from the four foreign churches. They were forthwith translated into French, and examined by the magistrates. The Swiss Reformers and churches were unanimous

in condemning the theological doctrines of Servetus, and in the testimony of respect and affection for Calvin and his colleagues. Even Bern, which was not on good terms with Calvin, and had two years earlier counselled toleration in the case of Bolsec, regarded Servetus a much more dangerous heretic and advised to remove this "pest." Yet none of the churches consulted, expressly suggested the death penalty, and left the mode of punishment with the discretion of a sovereign State. Haller, the pastor of Bern, however, wrote to Bullinger of Zürich that if Servetus had fallen into the hands of Bernese justice, he would undoubtedly have been condemned to the flames.

CONDEMNATION OF SERVETUS.

On the 28d of October the Council met for a careful examination of the replies of the churches, but could not come to a decision on account of the absence of several members, especially Perrin, the Chief Syndic, who feigned sickness. Servetus had failed to excite any sympathy among the people, and had injured his cause by his obstinate and defiant conduct. The Libertines, who wished to use him as a tool for political purposes, were discouraged and intimidated by the council of Bern, to which they looked for protection against the hated régime of Calvin.

The full session of the Council on the 26th, to which all counsellors were summoned on the faith of their oath, decided the fate of the unfortunate prisoner, but not without a stormy discussion. Amy Perrin presided and made a last effort in favor of Servetus. He at first insisted upon his acquittal, which would have been equivalent to the exile of Calvin and a permanent triumph of the party opposed to him. Being baffled, he proposed, as another alternative, that Servetus, in accordance with his own wishes, be transferred to the Council of the Two Hundred. But this proposal was also rejected. He was influenced by political passion rather than by sympathy with heresy or love of toleration, which had very few advocates at that time. When he perceived that the majority of the Council

was inclined to a sentence of death, he quitted the senate house with a few others. The Council had no doubt of its jurisdiction in the case; it had to respect the unanimous judgment of the churches, the public horror of heresy and blasphemy, and the imperial laws of Christendom, which were appealed to by the attorney-general. The decision was unanimous. Even the wish of Calvin to substitute the sword for the fire was overruled, and the papal practice of the *auto-da-fé* followed, though without the solemn mockery of a religious festival.

The judges, after enumerating the crimes of Servetus, in calling the holy Trinity a monster with three heads, blaspheming the Son of God, denying infant-baptism as an invention of the devil and of witchcraft, assailing the Christian faith, and after mentioning that he had been condemned and burned in effigy at Vienne, and had during his residence in Geneva persisted in his vile and detestable errors, and called all true Christians tri-theists, atheists, sorcerers, putting aside all remonstrances and corrections with a malicious and perverse obstinacy, pronounced the fearful sentence:

“We condemn thee, Michael Servetus, to be bound, and led to the place of Champel, there to be fastened to a stake and burnt alive, together with thy book, as well the one written by thy hand as the printed one, even till thy body be reduced to ashes; and thus shalt thou finish thy days to furnish an example to others who might wish to commit the like.

“And we command our Lieutenant to see that this our present sentence be executed.”

Rilliet, who published the official report of the trial in the interest of history, without special sympathy with Calvin, says that the sentence of condemnation was odious before our consciences, but just according to the law. Let us thank God that these unchristian and barbarous laws are abolished forever.

Calvin communicated to Farel on the 26th of October a brief summary of the result, in which he says: “The messenger has returned from the Swiss Churches. They are unanimous in pronouncing that Servetus has now renewed those impious errors with which Satan formerly disturbed the Church, and that he is a monster not to be borne. Those of

Basel are judicious. The Zürichers are the most vehement of all. . . . They of Schaffhausen will agree. To an appropriate letter from the Bernese is added one from the Senate in which they stimulate ours not a little. Cæsar, the comedian [so he sarcastically called Perrin], after feigning illness for three days, at length went up to the assembly in order to free that wretch [Servetus] from punishment. Nor was he ashamed to ask that inquiry might be made at the Council of the Two Hundred. However, Servetus was without dissent condemned. He will be led forth to punishment to-morrow. We endeavored to alter the mode of his death, but in vain. Why we did not succeed, I defer my narration until I see you."

This letter reached Farel on his way to Geneva, where he arrived on the same day, in time to hear the sentence of condemnation. He had come at the request of Calvin, to perform the last pastoral duties to the prisoner, which could not so well be done by any of the pastors of Geneva.

EXECUTION OF SERVETUS, OCT. 27, 1553.

When Servetus on the following morning heard of the unexpected sentence of death, he was horror-struck and behaved like a madman. He uttered groans, and cried aloud in Spanish, "Mercy, mercy!"

The venerable old Farel visited him in the prison at seven in the morning, and remained with him till the hour of his death. He tried to convince him of his error. Servetus asked him to quote a single Scripture passage where Christ was called "Son of God" *before* his incarnation. Farel could not satisfy him. He brought about an interview with Calvin, of which the latter gives us an account. Servetus, proud as he was, humbly asked his pardon. Calvin protested that he had never pursued any personal quarrel against him. "Sixteen years ago," he said, "I spared no pains at Paris to gain you to our Lord. You then shunned the light. I did not cease to exhort you by letters, but all in vain. You have heaped upon me I know not how much fury rather than anger. But as to

the rest, I pass by what concerns myself. Think rather of crying for mercy to God whom you have blasphemed." This address had no more effect than the exhortation of Farel, and Calvin left the room in obedience, as he says, to St. Paul's order (Tit. 3: 10, 11), to withdraw from a self-condemned heretic. Servetus appeared as mild and humble as he had been bold and arrogant, but did not change his conviction.

At eleven o'clock on the 27th of October, Servetus was led from the prison to the gates of the City Hall, to hear the sentence read from the balcony by the Lord Syndic Darlod. When he heard the last words, he fell on his knees and exclaimed: "The sword! in mercy! and not fire! Or I may lose my soul in despair." He protested that if he had sinned, it was through ignorance. Farel raised him up and said: "Confess thy crime, and God will have mercy on your soul." Servetus replied: "I am not guilty; I have not merited death." Then he smote his breast, invoked God for pardon, confessed Christ as his Saviour, and besought God to pardon his accusers.

On the short journey to the place of execution, Farel again attempted to obtain a confession, but Servetus was silent. He showed the courage and consistency of a martyr in these last awful moments.

Champel is a little hill south of Geneva with a fine view on one of the loveliest paradises of nature. There was prepared a funeral pile hidden in part by the autumnal leaves of the oak trees. The Lord Lieutenant and the herald on horseback, both arrayed in the insignia of their office, arrive with the doomed man and the old pastor, followed by a small procession of spectators. Farel invites Servetus to solicit the prayers of the people and to unite his prayers with theirs. Servetus obeys in silence. The executioner fastens him by iron chains to the stake amidst the fagots, puts a crown of leaves covered with sulphur on his head, and binds his book by his side. The sight of the flaming torch extorts from him a piercing shriek of "*misericordias*" in his native tongue. The spectators fall back with a shudder. The flames soon reach him and consume his mortal frame in

the forty-fourth year of his fitful life. In the last moment he is heard to pray, in smoke and agony, with a loud voice: "Jesus Christ, thou Son of the eternal God, have mercy upon me!"

This was at once a confession of his faith and of his error. He could not be induced, says Farel, to confess that Christ was the eternal Son of God.

The tragedy ended when the clock of St. Peter's struck twelve. The people quietly dispersed to their homes. Farel returned at once to Neuchâtel, even without calling on Calvin. The subject was too painful to be discussed.

The conscience and piety of that age approved of the execution, and left little room for the emotions of compassion. But two hundred years afterwards a distinguished scholar and minister of Geneva echoed the sentiments of his fellow-citizens when he said: "Would to God that we could extinguish this funeral pile with our tears." Dr. Henry, the admiring biographer of Calvin, imagines an impartial Christian jury of the nineteenth century assembled on Champel, which would pronounce the judgment of Calvin "Not guilty"; on Servetus, "Guilty, with extenuating circumstances."

The flames of Champel have consumed the intolerance of Calvin as well as the heresy of Servetus.

THE CHARACTER OF SERVETUS.

Servetus—theologian, philosopher, geographer, physician, scientist, and astrologer—was one of the most remarkable men in the history of heresy. He was of medium size, thin and pale, like Calvin, his eyes beaming with intelligence, and an expression of melancholy and fanaticism. Owing to a physical rupture he was never married. He seems never to have had any particular friends, and stood isolated and alone.

His mental endowments and acquirements were of a high order, and placed him far above the heretics of his age and almost on an equality with the Reformers. His discoveries have immortalized his name in the history of science. He

knew Latin, Hebrew and Greek (though Calvin depreciates his knowledge of Greek), as well as Spanish, French, and Italian, and was well read in the Bible, the early fathers, and schoolmen. He had an original, speculative, and acute mind, a tenacious memory, ready wit, a fiery imagination, ardent love of learning, and untiring industry. He anticipated the leading doctrines of Socinianism and Unitarianism, but in connection with mystic and pantheistic speculations, which his contemporaries did not understand. He had much uncommon sense, but little practical common sense. He lacked balance and soundness. There was a streak of fanaticism in his brain. His eccentric genius bordered closely on the line of insanity. For

“Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
And thin partitions do their bounds divide.”

His style is frequently obscure, inelegant, abrupt, diffuse and repetitious. He accumulates arguments to an extent that destroys their effect. He gives eight arguments to prove that the saints in heaven pray for us; ten arguments to show that Melancthon and his friends were sorcerers, blinded by the devil; twenty arguments against infant baptism; twenty-five reasons for the necessity of faith before baptism; and sixty signs of the apocalyptic beast and the reign of Antichrist.

In thought and style he was the opposite of the clear-headed, well-balanced, methodical, logical, and thoroughly sound Calvin, who never leaves the reader in doubt as to his meaning.

The moral character of Servetus was free from immorality of which his enemies at first suspected him in the common opinion of the close connection of heresy with vice. But he was vain, proud, defiant, quarrelsome, revengeful, irreverent in the use of language, deceitful, and mendacious. He abused popery and the Reformers with unreasonable violence. He conformed for years to the Catholic ritual which he despised as idolatrous. He defended his attendance upon mass by Paul's example in visiting the temple (Acts 21: 26), but afterwards confessed at Geneva that he had acted under compulsion and sinned from fear of death. He concealed or denied on oath

facts which he afterwards had to admit. At Vienne he tried to lie himself out of danger and escaped; in Geneva he defied his antagonist and did his best, with the aid of the Libertines in the Council, to ruin him.

The severest charge against him is blasphemy. Bullinger remarked to a Pole that if Satan himself came out of hell he could use no more blasphemous language against the Trinity than this Spaniard; and Peter Martyr, who was present, assented and said that such a living son of the devil ought not to be tolerated anywhere. We cannot even now read some of his sentences against the doctrine of the Trinity without a shudder. Servetus lacked reverence and a decent regard for the most sacred feelings and convictions of those who differed from him. But there was a misunderstanding on both sides. He did not mean to blaspheme the true God in whom he believed himself, but only the three false and imaginary gods, as he wrongly conceived them to be, while to all orthodox Christians they were the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit of the one true, eternal, blessed Godhead.

He labored under the fanatical delusion that he was called by Providence to reform the Church and to restore the Christian religion. He deemed himself wiser than all the fathers, schoolmen, and Reformers. He supported his delusion by a fanciful interpretation of the last and darkest book of the Bible.

Calvin and Farel saw, in his refusal to recant, only the obstinacy of an incorrigible heretic and blasphemer. We must recognize in it the strength of his conviction. He forgave his enemies; he asked the pardon even of Calvin. Why should we not forgive him? He had a deeply religious nature. We must honor his enthusiastic devotion to the Scriptures and to the person of Christ. From the prayers and ejaculations inserted in his book, and from his dying cry for mercy, it is evident that he worshipped Jesus Christ as his Lord and Saviour.

THE THEOLOGY OF SERVETUS.

To the coteremporaries of Servetus his last and maturest work, *The Restitution of Christianity*, appeared to be a confused compound of Sabellian, Samosatenic, Arian, Apollinarian, and Pelagian heresies, mixed with Anabaptist errors and Neo-platonic, pantheistic speculations. The best judges—Calvin, Saisset, Trechsel, Baur, Dorner, Harnack—find the root of his system in pantheism. Tollin denies his pantheism, although he admits the pantheistic coloring of some of his expressions; he distinguishes no less than five phases in his theology before it came to its full maturity, and characterizes it as an “intensive, extensive, and protensive Panchristism, or ‘Christocentricism.’”

Servetus was a mystic theosophist and Christopantheist. Far from being a skeptic or rationalist, he had very strong positive convictions of the absolute truth of the Christian religion. He regarded the Bible as an infallible source of truth, and accepted the traditional canon without dispute. So far he agreed with evangelical Protestantism; but he differed from it, as well as from Romanism, in principle and aim. He claimed to stand above both parties as the restorer of primitive Christianity, which excludes the errors and combines the truths of the Catholic and Protestant creeds.

The evangelical Reformation, inspired by the teaching of St. Paul and Augustin, was primarily a practical movement, and proceeded from a deep sense of sin and grace in opposition to prevailing Pelagianism, and pointed the people directly to Christ as the sole and sufficient fountain of pardon and peace to the troubled conscience; but it retained all the articles of the Apostles’ Creed, and especially the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation.

Servetus, with the Bible as his guide, aimed at a more radical revolution than the Reformers. He started with a new doctrine of God and of Christ, and undermined the very foundations of the Catholic creed. The three most prominent *negative* features of his system are three denials: the denial of the orthodox dogma of the Trinity, as set forth in the Nicene Creed; the

denial of the orthodox Christology, as determined by the Œcumenical Council of Chalcedon ; and the denial of infant baptism, as practised everywhere except by the Anabaptists. From these three sources he derived all the evils and corruptions of the Church. The first two denials were the basis of the theoretical revolution, the third was the basis of the practical revolution which he felt himself providentially called to effect by his anonymous book.

Those three negations in connection with what appeared to be shocking blasphemy, though not intended as such, made him an object of horror to all orthodox Christians of his age, Protestants as well as Roman Catholic, and led to his double condemnation, first at Vienne, and then at Geneva. So far he was perfectly understood by his contemporaries, especially by Calvin and Melanchthon. . But the *positive* features, which he substituted for the Nicene and Chalcedonian orthodoxy, were not appreciated in their originality, and seemed to be simply a repetition of old and long-condemned heresies.

There were Antitrinitarians before Servetus, not only in the ante-Nicene age, but also in the sixteenth century, especially among the Anabaptists—such as Hetzer, Denck, Campanus, Melchior, Hoffmann, Reed, Martini, David Joris. But he gathered their sporadic ideas into a coherent original system, and gave them a speculative foundation.

1. CHRISTOLOGY.

Servetus begins the “Restitution,” as well as his first book against the Trinity, with the doctrine of Christ. He rises from the humanity of the historical Jesus of Nazareth to his Messiahship and Divine Sonship, and from this to His divinity. This is, we may say, the view of the Synoptical Gospels, as distinct from the usual orthodox method which, with the Prologue of the fourth Gospel, descends from His divinity to His humanity through the act of the incarnation of the second person of the Trinity. In this respect he anticipates the modern humanitarian Christology. Jesus is, according to Servetus, begot-

ten, not of the first person of God, but of the essence of the one undivided and indivisible God. He is born, according to the flesh, of the Virgin Mary by the overshadowing cloud of the Spirit (Matt. 1:18, 20, 23; Luke 1:32, 35). The whole aim of the gospel is to lead men to believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God (comp. John 20:31). But the term "Son of God" is in the Scriptures always used of the man Jesus, and never of the Logos. He is the one true and natural son of God, born of the substance of God; we are sons by adoption, by an act of grace. We are made sons of God by faith (John 1:12; Gal. 3:26; Rom. 8:23; Eph. 1:5). He is, moreover, truly and veritably God. The whole essence of God is manifest in Him; God dwells in Him bodily.

To his last breath Servetus worshipped Jesus as the Son of the eternal God. But he did not admit Him to be the *eternal* Son of God, except in an ideal and pantheistic sense, in which the whole world was in the mind of God from eternity, and comprehended in the Divine Wisdom (Sophia) and the Divine Word (Logos).

He opposed the Chalcedonian dualism and aimed (like Apollinaris) at an organic unity of Christ's person, but made Him a full human personality (while Apollinaris substituted the divine Logos for the human spirit, and thus made Christ only a half man). He charges the scholastic and orthodox divines, whom he calls sophists and opponents of the truth, with making two Sons of God—one invisible and eternal, another visible and temporal. They deny, he says, that Jesus is truly man by teaching that He has two distinct natures with a communication of attributes. Christ does not consist of, or in, two natures. He had no previous personal pre-existence as a second hypostasis: His personality dates from His conception and birth. But this man Jesus is, at the same time, consubstantial with God (*ὁμοούσιος*). As man and wife are one in the flesh of their son, so God and man are one in Christ. The flesh of Christ is heavenly and born of the very substance of God. By the deification of the flesh of Christ he materialized God, destroyed the real humanity of Christ, and lost himself in the maze of a pantheistic mysticism.

2. UNITY AND TRINITY.

The fundamental doctrine of Servetus was the absolute unity, simplicity, and indivisibility of the Divine Being, in opposition to the tripersonality or threefold hypostasis of orthodoxy. In this respect he makes common cause with the Jews and Mohammedans, and approvingly quotes the Koran. He violently assails Athanasius, Hilary, Augustin, John of Damascus, Peter the Lombard, and other champions of the dogma of the Trinity. But he claims the ante-Nicene Fathers, especially Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, and Tertullian, for his view. He calls all Trinitarians "tritheists" and "atheists." They have not one absolute God, but a three-parted, collective, composite God—that is, an unthinkable, impossible God, which is no God at all. They worship three idols of the demons,—a three-headed monster, like the Cerberus of the Greek mythology. One of their gods is unbegotten, the second is begotten, the third proceeding. One died, the other two did not die. Why is not the Spirit begotten, and the Son proceeding? By distinguishing the Trinity in the abstract from the three persons separately considered, they have even four gods. The Talmud and the Koran, he thinks, are right in opposing such nonsense and blasphemy.

Yet, after all, he taught himself a sort of trinity, but substitutes the terms "dispositions," "dispensations," "economies," for hypostases and persons. In other words, he believed, like Sabellius, in a trinity of revelation or manifestation, but not in a trinity of essence or substance. He even avowed, during the trial at Geneva, a trinity of persons and the eternal personality of Christ; but he understood the term "person" in the original sense of a mask used by players on the stage, not in the orthodox sense of a distinct hypostasis or real personality that had its own proper life in the Divine essence from eternity, and was manifest in time in the man Jesus.

Servetus distinguished—with Plato, Philo, the Neo-Platonists, and several of the Greek Fathers—between an ideal, in-

visible, uncreated, eternal world and the real, visible, created, temporal world. In God, he says, are from eternity the ideas or forms of all things: these are called "Wisdom" or "Logos," "the Word" (John 1: 1). He identifies this ideal world with "the Book of God," wherein are recorded all things that happen (Deut. 32: 32; Ps. 139: 16; Rev. 5: 1), and with the living creatures and four whirling wheels full of eyes, in the vision of Ezekiel (1: 5; 10: 12). The eyes of God are living fountains in which are reflected all things, great and small, even the hairs of our head (Matt. 10: 30), but particularly the elect, whose names are recorded in a special book.

All things are one in God, in whom they consist. There is one fundamental ground or principle and head of all things, and this is Jesus Christ our Lord.

In the fifth book Servetus discusses the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. He identifies Him with the Word, from which He differs only in the form of existence. God is, figuratively speaking, the Father of the Spirit, as He is the Father of Wisdom and the Word. The Spirit is not a third metaphysical being, but the Spirit of God Himself. To receive the Holy Spirit means to receive the anointing of God. The indwelling of the Spirit in us is the indwelling of God (1 Cor. 3: 16; 6: 19; 2 Cor. 6: 16; Eph. 2: 22). He who lies to the Holy Spirit lies to God (Acts 5: 4). The Spirit is a *modus*, a form of divine existence. He is also called the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son (Gal. 4: 6; Rom. 8: 9; 1 Pet. 1: 11). The human spirit is a spark of the Divine Spirit, an image of the Wisdom of God, created, yet similar. God breathes His Spirit into man in his birth, and again in regeneration.

In connection with this subject, Servetus goes into an investigation of the vital spirits in man, and gives a minute description of the lesser circulation of the blood, which he first discovered. He studied theology as a physician and surgeon, and studied medicine as a theologian.

3. CHRISTOPANTHEISM.

The premises and conclusions of the speculations of Servetus are pantheistic. He frequently refers with approval to Plato and the Neo-Platonists. "All is one and one is all, because all things are one in God, and God is the substance of all things." "As the Word of God is essentially man, so the Spirit of God is essentially the spirit of man. By the power of the resurrection all the primitive elements of the body and spirit have been renewed, glorified and immortalized, and all these are communicated to us by Christ in baptism and the Lord's Supper. The Holy Spirit is the breath from the mouth of Christ (John 20: 22). As God breathes into man the soul with the air, so Christ breathes into His disciples the Holy Spirit with the air. . . . The deity in the stone is stone, in gold it is gold, in the wood it is wood, according to the proper ideas of things. In a more excellent way the deity in man is man, in the spirit it is spirit." "God dwells in the Spirit, and God is Spirit. God dwells in the fire, and God is fire; God dwells in the light, and God is light; God dwells in the mind, and He is the mind itself. In one of his letters to Calvin he says: "Containing the essence of the universe in Himself, God is everywhere, and in everything, and in such wise that He shows Himself to us as fire, as a flower, as a stone." God is always in the process of becoming. Evil as well as good is comprised in his essence. He quotes Isa. 45: 7: "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I am the Lord, that doeth all these things." The evil differs from the good only in the direction.

When Calvin charged him with pantheism, Servetus re-stated his view in these words: "God is in all things by essence, presence and power, and Himself sustains all things." Calvin admitted this, but denied the inference that the substantial Deity is in all creatures, and, as the latter confessed before the judges, even in the pavement on which they stand, and in the devils. In his last reply to Calvin he tells him: "With Simon

Magus, you shut up God in a corner; I say that He is all in all things; all beings are sustained in God."

But his views differ from the ordinary pantheism. He substitutes for a cosmopanthéism a *Christopanthéism*. Instead of saying, The *world* is the great God, he says, *Christ* is the great God. By Christ, however, he means only the ideal Christ; for he denied the eternity of the real or historical Christ.

4. ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY.

Servetus was called a Pelagian by Calvin. This is true only with some qualifications. He denied absolute predestination and the slavery of the human will, as taught first by all the Reformers. He admitted the fall of Adam in consequence of the temptation by the devil, and he admitted also hereditary sin (which Pelagius denied), but not hereditary guilt. Hereditary sin is only a disease for which the child is not responsible. (This was also the view of Zwingli.) There is no guilt without knowledge of good and evil. Actual transgression is not possible before the time of age and responsibility, that is, about the twentieth year. He infers this from such passages as Ex. 30: 14; 38: 26; Num. 14: 29; 32: 11; Deut. 1: 39.

The serpent has entered human flesh and taken possession of it. There is a thorn in the flesh, a law of the members antagonistic to the law of God; but this does not condemn infants, nor is it taken away in baptism (as the Catholics hold), for it dwells even in saints, and the conflict between the spirit and the serpent goes on through life. But Christ offers His help to all, even to infants and their angels.

In the fallen state man has still a free will, reason and conscience, which connect him with the divine grace. Man is still the image of God. Hence the punishment of murder, which is an attack upon the divine majesty in man (Gen. 9: 6). Every man is enlightened by the Logos (John 1: 17). We are of divine origin (Acts 17: 29). The doctrine of the slavery of the human will is a great fallacy (*magna fallacia*), and turns divine grace into a pure machine. It makes men idle, and neglect

prayer, fasting and almsgiving. God is free Himself, and gives freedom to every man, and His grace works freely in man. It is our impiety which turns the gift of freedom into slavery. The Reformers blaspheme God by their doctrine of total depravity and their depreciation of good works. All true philosophers and theologians teach that divinity is implanted in man, and that the soul is of the same essence with God.

As to predestination, there is, strictly speaking, no before nor after in God, as He is not subject to time. But He is just and merciful to all His creatures, especially to the little flock of the elect. He condemns no one who does not condemn himself.

5. THE SACRAMENTS.

Servetus admitted only two sacraments, thereby agreeing with the Protestants, but held original views on both.

(a) As to the sacrament of Baptism, he taught, with the Catholic Church, baptismal regeneration, but rejected, with the Anabaptists, infant baptism.

Baptism is a saving ordinance by which we receive the remission of sins, are made Christians, and enter the kingdom of heaven as priests and kings, through the power of the Holy Spirit who sanctifies the water. It is the death of the old man and the birth of the new man. By baptism we put on Christ and live a new life in Him.

But baptism must be preceded by the preaching of the gospel, the illumination of the Spirit, and repentance, which, according to the preaching of John the Baptist and of Christ, is the necessary condition of entering the kingdom of God. Therefore, Servetus infers, no one is a fit subject for baptism before he has reached manhood. By the law of Moses priests were not anointed before the thirtieth year (Num. 4: 3). Joseph was thirty years old when he was raised from the prison to the throne (Gen. 41: 46). According to the rabbinical tradition Adam was born or created in his thirtieth year. Christ was baptized in the Jordan when He was thirty years (Luke 3: 21-23), and that is the model of all true Christian baptism. He was

circumcised in infancy, but the carnal circumcision is the type of the spiritual circumcision of the heart, not of water baptism. Circumcision was adapted to real infants who have not yet committed actual transgression; baptism is intended for spiritual infants—that is, for responsible persons who have a childlike spirit and begin a new life.

(b) Servetus rejected Infant Baptism as irreconcilable with these views, and as absurd. He called it a doctrine of the devil, an invention of popery, and a total subversion of Christianity. He saw in it the second root of all the corruptions of the Church, as the dogma of the Trinity was the first root.

Children are unfit to perform the office of priests which is given to us in baptism. They have no faith, they cannot repent, and cannot enter into a covenant. Moreover, they do not need the bath of regeneration for the remission of sins, as they have not yet committed actual transgression.

But children are not lost if they die without baptism. Adam's sin is remitted to all by the merits of Christ. They are excluded from the Church on earth; they must die and go to Sheol; but Christ will raise them up on the resurrection day and save them in heaven. The Scripture does not condemn the Ismaelites or the Ninevites or other barbarians. Christ gives His blessing to unbaptized children. How could the most merciful Lord, who bore the sins of a guilty world, condemn those who have not committed an impiety?

Servetus agreed with Zwingli, the Anabaptists and the Second Scotch Confession, in rejecting the cruel Roman dogma, which excludes all unbaptized infants, even of Christian parents, from the kingdom of heaven.

(c) In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Servetus differs from the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Zwinglian theories, and approaches, strange to say, the doctrine of his great antagonist Calvin. Baptism and the Lord's Supper represent the birth and the nourishment of the new man. By the former we receive the spirit of Christ; by the latter we receive the body of Christ, but in a spiritual and mystical manner.

Baptism kindles and strengthens faith; the eucharist strengthens love and unites us more and more to Christ. By neglecting this ordinance the spiritual man famishes and dies away. The heavenly man needs heavenly food, which nourishes him to life eternal (John 6 : 53).

Servetus distinguishes three false theories on the Lord's Supper, and calls their advocates *transubstantiatores* (Romanists), *impanatores* (Lutherans), and *tropistæ* (Zwinglians).

Against the first two theories, which agree in teaching a literal presence and manducation of Christ's body and blood by all communicants, he urges that spiritual food cannot be received by the mouth and stomach, but only by the spiritual organs of faith and love. He refers, like Zwingli, to the passage in John 6 : 63, as the key for understanding the words of institution and of the mysterious discourse on eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ.

He is most severe against the papal doctrine of transubstantiation or transelementation, because it turns bread into no-bread, and would make us believe that the body of Christ is eaten even by wild beasts, dogs and mice. He calls this dogma a Satanic monstrosity and an invention of demons.

To the Tropists he concedes that bread and wine are symbols, but he objects to the idea of the absence of Christ in heaven. They are symbols of a really present, not of an absent Christ. He is the living head and vitally connected with all His members. A head cut off from the body would be a monster. To deny the real presence of Christ is to destroy His reign. He came to us to abide with us forever. He withdrew only His visible presence till the day of judgment, but promised to be with us invisibly, but none the less really, to the end of the world.

6. THE KINGDOM OF CHRIST AND THE REIGN OF ANTICHRIST.

We have already noticed the apocalyptic fancies of Servetus. He could not find the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven, so often spoken of in the Gospels (while Christ speaks only

twice of the "Church"), in any visible church organization of his day. The true Church flourished in the first three centuries, but then fled into the wilderness, pursued by the dragon; there she has a place prepared by God, and will remain a thousand two hundred and threescore prophetic days or years (Rev. 12: 6)—that is, from 325 to 1585.

The reign of Antichrist, with its corruptions and abominations, began with three contemporaneous events: The first Œcumenical Council of Nicæa (325), which split the one Godhead into three idols; the Union of Church and State under Constantine, when the king became a monk; and the establishment of the papacy under Sylvester, when the bishop became a king. From the same period he dates the general practice of infant baptism with its destructive consequences. Since that time the true Christians were everywhere persecuted and not allowed to assemble. They were scattered as sheep in the wilderness.

Servetus fully agreed with the Reformers in opposition to the papacy as an antichristian power, but went much further, and had no better opinion of the Protestant churches. He called the Roman Church "the most beastly of beasts and the most impudent of harlots."

He finds no less than sixty signs or marks of the reign of Antichrist in the eschatological discourses of Christ, in Daniel (chs. 7 and 12), in Paul (2 Thess. 2: 3, 4; 1 Tim. 4: 1), and especially in the Apocalypse (chs. 13–18).

But this reign is now drawing to a close. The battle of Michael with Antichrist has already begun in heaven and on earth, and the author of the "Restitution" has sounded the trumpet of war, which will end in the victory of Christ and the true Church. Servetus might have lived to see the millennium (in 1585), but he expected to fall in the battle, and to share in the first resurrection.

He concludes his eschatological chapter on the reign of Antichrist with these words: "Whosoever truly believes that the pope is Antichrist, will also truly believe that the papistical trinity, pædobaptism, and the other sacraments of popery are

doctrines of dæmons. O Christ Jesus, thou Son of God, most merciful deliverer, who so often didst deliver Thy people from distresses, deliver us poor sinners from this Babylonian captivity of Antichrist, from his hypocrisy, his tyranny, and his idolatry. Amen."

7. ESCHATOLOGY.

Servetus was charged by Calvin and the Council of Geneva with denying the immortality of the soul. This was a heresy punishable by death. Etienne Dolet was executed on the place Maubert at Paris, Aug. 2, 1546, for this denial. But Servetus denied the charge. He taught that the soul was mortal, that it deserved to die on account of sin, but that Christ communicates to it new life by grace. Christ has brought immortality to light (2 Tim. 1: 10; 1 Pet. 1: 21-25). This seems to be the doctrine of conditional immortality of believers. But he held that all the souls of the departed go to the gloomy abode of Sheol to undergo a certain purification before judgment. This is the baptism of blood and fire, as distinct from the baptism of water and spirit (1 Cor. 3: 11-15). The good and bad are separated in death. Those who die without being regenerated by Christ have no hope. The righteous progress in sanctification. They pray for us (for which he gives six reasons, and quotes Zech. 1: 12, 13; Luke 15: 10; 16: 27, 28; 1 Cor. 13: 18), but we ought not to pray for them, for they do not need our prayers, and there is no Scripture precept on the subject.

The reign of the pope or Antichrist will be followed by the millennial reign of Christ on earth (Rev. 20: 4-7). Then will take place the first resurrection.

Servetus was a chiliast, but not in the carnal Jewish sense. He blames Melancthon for deriding, with the papal crowd, all those as chiliasts who believe in the glorious reign of Christ on earth, according to the book of Revelation and the teaching of the school of St. John.

The general resurrection and judgment follow after the millennium. Men will be raised in the flower of manhood, the

thirtieth year—the year of baptismal regeneration, the year in which Christ was baptized and entered upon His public ministry. “Then wilt thou,” so he addresses Philip Melanchthon, who, next to Calvin, was his greatest enemy, “with all thy senses, see, feel, taste, and hear God Himself. If thou dost not believe this, thou dost not believe in a resurrection of the flesh and a bodily transformation of thy organs.”

After the general judgment, Christ will surrender His mediatorial reign with its glories to the Father, and God will be all in all (Acts 3 : 21 ; 1 Cor. 15 : 24–28.)*

*This account is taken from a rare copy of the *Restitutio Christianisma*. The first edition of 1,000 was destroyed except 4 copies; but a small edition was reprinted in 1790 from the original copy which is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna. See the bibliography on Servetus in the Seventh volume of Schaff's *Church History*, pp. 681 sqq., which has just been published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

II.

REFORMED CHURCH ARCHIVES.

PAPERS IN THE REIFF CASE, 1730-1749.

EDITED BY REV. J. H. DUBBS, D.D.

THE Reformed Church in the United States proposes to celebrate, during the present year, the centennial anniversary of its act of separation from the Church of Holland, and the consequent independent organization of its earliest synod. Though, like many important historical events, this action attracted little attention at the time of its occurrence, its results have proved so far-reaching as to render it well worthy of remembrance and commemoration. Holland had been to the infant churches of Pennsylvania a mother, kind though stern. Her liberality, extended through a long series of years, was perhaps unequalled in ecclesiastical history; but she insisted on submission to her discipline and unquestioning obedience to all her commandments. There had been, since 1747, an ecclesiastical organization, known as the Coetus, of which the synod became in a certain sense the historical continuation; but the powers of the earlier body were purely advisory, and none of its decisions were binding until they had been approved by the synods of Holland. With the best intentions in the world, "the fathers" could not possibly understand the real wants of the American churches. They continued to send German ministers; but not one of their own number is known to have crossed the ocean for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted with the recipients of their charity. The Coetus was not permitted to confer the rite of ordination, except in extraordinary cases, and

then only after permission had been granted by the authorities in Holland. These arrangements were, to say the least, extremely inconvenient; and two or three years sometimes passed before on important questions a final decision could be reached. It is remarkable that, under the circumstances, the Dutch connection remained so long unbroken; but after the war of the Revolution the bond gradually grew weaker, and when it broke the event occasioned no surprise. At the meeting of the Coetus held in Philadelphia on the 27th of April, 1793, the following action was taken :

“Inasmuch as we have not yet received a reply to our last letters and proceedings, it was resolved by a majority of votes that for the present we will transmit to our Fathers in Holland only a letter, but not our proceedings.” By this action—for which the way had been carefully prepared at previous meetings—the relations with Holland appear to have been merely suspended; but they were never resumed, and the Coetus became a Synod.

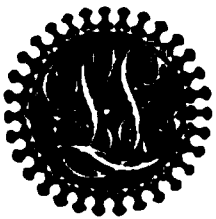
As a contribution to the celebration of these events we propose to publish some of the original documents, concerning the relations of the German churches of Pennsylvania to the Church of Holland, which are preserved in the Library of the Historical Society, at Lancaster. These papers were collected by Drs. Mayer, Harbaugh, and others, and are of great historical value. Though possibly uninteresting to the general reader, the future historian will appreciate them; and as, with all our care, the originals are in danger of accidental destruction, or of becoming illegible with age, it becomes a duty to render their contents permanent by publication. Other denominations have printed their early records in splendid volumes, the expense of publication being in some instances defrayed by a single individual, who has thus honored himself by permanently attaching his name to the history of his church. Possibly the exhibition of a few specimens from our archives may encourage some one to aid us in uncovering the mine of historic wealth which lies unregarded at our feet.

Unfortunately for our purpose, the earliest documents in our possession are of such a character that we might wish the occasion for writing them had never occurred. They refer to "the Reiff case," which occupied the attention of the Church for many years. We shall not relate the story which is told at length in the papers which we here present. The paper marked A. is a copy of the commission given to Jacob Reiff to proceed to Europe, in company with the Rev. G. M. Weiss, to receive money which had been collected for the churches of Philadelphia and Skippack. It was filed by Reiff in the court of chancery, and may be presumed to be a correct copy of the original. B. is a bill of complaint to the Court, representing that Reiff has not rendered any account of the money collected in Europe, and praying that, pending an investigation, he may be prevented from leaving the province. C. is Reiff's answer to the bill of complaint, in which he defends himself at great length. It is interesting as giving the case of the defendant; but shows that he was, to say the least, very careless in keeping his accounts. D. and E. are letters written from Holland to Governor James Logan, soliciting his influence in the prosecution. Here, as elsewhere, errors in orthography and grammatical construction have been carefully retained as they appear in the original. It may have been through Logan's influence that the case was finally taken out of chancery and submitted to a board of arbitrators, in accordance with whose decision Schlatter finally received from Mr. Reiff about five hundred and fifty dollars, after which he published a card expressing his confidence in Mr. Reiff's integrity. It seems, however, that the community was impressed with the idea that the amount due was much greater, and accordingly poured the vials of its wrath on the head of Mr. Schlatter for consenting to such a settlement. We accordingly find in Saur's paper for Nov. 16, 1749, a personal card, or explanation, which may be regarded as the last paper in the Reiff case. With this document we conclude the series, which incidentally throws much light on the early history of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania.

DOCUMENTS.

A.

COPIA.



Nachdeme unser Her Pastor Weissen sich resolviret mit seinem bey sich habenden Geferten Jacob Reiffen nach England und Rotterdam eine reise zu thun um die Colecte welche da in loco um erbauung einer Kirche alhiesiger Lande bereit liege, als wird Jacob Reiffen hiemit die Vollmacht gegeben alles zu besorgen, damit Herr Weiss mit solcher sogleich expedirt und zur rückkehr nach Pensylvanien begeben soll. Wie wir ihme dann alles auf sein gutes Gewissen übergeben, auch die Vollmacht in allem überlassen. Welches wir zur Steuer eigenhändig unterschreiben. So geschehen, Philadelphia d. 19 ten May, 1730. Es wird dabey gebeten Jacob Reif möchte alles auf solche Arth richten dass wenn Herr P. Weiss nicht mehr in das Land kommen wolte oder sollte, Er als Reif sogleich einen von Heidelberg mit sich zu nehmen ihn auf das nöthigste zu besorgen: weilen wir wenn allenfals die Collecten Gelder nicht mehr in loco wären nicht nöthig finden dass H. Weiss weiter sich zu verreissen, sondern nach bester besorgung er Jacob Reif die Briefe an behörigen Orten zu bes'ellen und selbst nach einen Antwort zu befragen. Mir sämmtl. Aeltesten der beyden Gemeinen zu Philadelphia und Schiebach.*

J. DIEMER, D. M. P.,
PIETER LECOLIE,
JOHANN WILLM RÖRIG,
HENRICH WELLER
GEORGE PETER HILLEGASS,
HANS MICHEL FRÖLICH,
MICHEL HILLEGASS.

WENDEL KEIBER,
DEOBALT JUNG,
CHRISTOFFEL SCHMITT,
GERHART (G. I. H.) IN DE HEVEN, S. N.,
GEORGE REIF,
GEORG PHILIP DODDER,

* The meaning of this document it not quite clear. It is incorrectly written, and several words are evidently omitted. The following is, however, as nearly as possible a literal translation:

Forasmuch as our pastor Weiss, in company with his travelling companion, Jacob Reiff, has resolved to take a journey to England and Rotterdam, for the purpose of receiving a collection which is said to be ready *in loco*, to be applied to the establishment of a church in these provinces; therefore authority is herewith given to Jacob Reiff to take entire charge, so that Mr. Weiss may be expedited on his immediate return with the same to Pennsylvania. Therefore, we also entrust everything to his good conscience, and give him plenary power in everything. In testimony whereof we sign our names. Given at Philadelphia, May 19, 1730.

We hereby request Jacob Reiff to arrange matters in such a way that if Pastor Weiss should or would not return to this country, he, Reiff, may at once bring with him a minister from Heidelberg, and provide him with whatever is most necessary; because if the monies collected should at any rate be no longer *in loco* we do not deem it necessary that Mr. Weiss should further extend his journey; but that according to his best judgment, Jacob Reiff should deliver the letters at their proper destination and personally make inquiries for a reply.

Signed by all the elders of the congregation at Philadelphia and Skippack

B.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 23, 1732.

To the Honorable Patrick Gordon, Esqr., Lieut. Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc. In Chancery.

The Petition of Jacob Diemer, Michael Hillegas, Peter Hillegas, Joost Schmidt, Hendrick Weller, Jacob Siegel, Wilhelm Rohrich. In Behalf of themselves and divers others members of the German Reformed Church in Philada.

In Humble Manner Sheweth.

That a great number of Protestants born under the Ligeance of the Emperor of Germany did about ten years since come over into this Province, and being settled in divers parts thereof, but especially in the city of Philada., formed themselves into a Religious Society, commonly called by the name of the German Reformed Church; for the good order and government whereof, by the advice of their minister, one George Michael Weiss, alias Weitzius, they appointed Church Wardens or Ancients: To which Trust your petitioners sometime in January last were called.

That in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty the Worthy Synods of South and North Holland together with the Assembly of Deacons of the reformed church of the city of Amsterdam and the mayor and aldermen of the sd. city and other well disposed persons in tender consideration of the necessitous circumstances of the greatest part of the members of the sd. German reformed Church at Philada., did by Voluntary Contributions collect the sum of two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven guilders amounting to three hundred and two pounds sterling money of Great Britain, and the same sum did deposit in the hands of ye sd. George Michael Weitz (who together with the Deft. Jacob Reiff then in Holland, had been making application in behalf of the sd. Religious Society at Philada. for the Charities of piously disposed persons there.)

That the sd. George Michel Weitzius and the Deft. Reiff are since returned into this province and the said Weitzius is removed to Albany in the Government of New York: But before his Departure did render to these Compts. a Distinct Account in writing of the sums of money by him recd. so as afd., and did declare that he had delivered to the sd. Deft. the afd., two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven Guilders under special trust and Confidence that he the sd. Deft. should pay the same to the Church Wardens or Ancients of the Reformed Church at Philada. for the uses afd.

Notwithstanding which the sd. Jacob Reiff tho' often requested by these Compts. refuses to render any account of the sd. money, or from whom, or to what use he received the same, or to pay or give security for the payment thereof to the Church Wardens or Ancients afd.

And these Compts. further say, that they are informed and do verily believe that the sd. Jacob Reiff is about to depart this province and to transport himself into parts beyond the seas where the process of this Honorable Court of Chancery cannot reach him, all which matters and things do further appear by the affidavit hereunto annex.

In tender consideration whereof, & forasmuch as such proceedings are directly contrary to Equity and Good Conscience, may it please your Honour to grant unto your petitioners His Majesty's most gracious Writt of Ne Exeat provincia to the Sheriff of the County of Philada.

directed Commanding the sd. Sheriff that he cause the sd. Jacob Reiff to come before him and to find sufficient security that he will not depart this province without special license for the same or until he make answer to the Bill of Complaint of your petitioners and further then do and receive what by this Honble. Court shall in that behalf be awarded.

And your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray, &c.

Nov. 23, 1732, Be it so

p. Cancell.

R. Charles, Regr.

J. Growdon,

Conc. p. Querent.

C.

The answer of Jacob Reiff, defendant, to the bill of complaint of John Deimer, Michael Hillegass, Joest Schmidt, Hendrick Weller, Jacob Siegel and Wilhelm Rohrich, complainants.

This defendant saving and reserving to himself now and all times hereafter all and all manner of benefit and advantage of exception to the manifold errors, untruths, uncertainties, insufficiencies and imperfections in the said complainants bill of complaints contained, for answer thereunto or unto so much thereof as this defendant is advised is anyway material for him, this defendant to make answer unto, he answereth and saith he believes it to be true, that about ten years since, divers Protestants born under the ligeance of the emperour of Germany, did transport themselves into this province, from such inducements as in the complainants said bill of complaint is mentioned. And that in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, they formed themselves into a religious society as near as they could upon the model of the German Reformed Church, and that they unanimously chose to themselves George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) in the bill named for their pastor. And this defendant saith that for the better discipline and government of the said society, they divided themselves into two congregations, one of the said congregations called the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia, and the other called the German Reformed Church of Skippack. That each of the said congregations did in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, elect four church-wardens or elders, that Peter Lecolie, Johan Wilhelm Roerig, Hendrick Weller, and Geo. Peter Hillegass were then elected church-wardens or elders for the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia, and Wendel Keiber, Gerhart In-de-Haven, Christopher Schmidt and George Reiff were then elected church-wardens or elders for the German Reformed Church of Skippack; and this defendant further saith that the said elders or church-wardens do still continue in their said office, there having been no new elders or church-wardens elected since by the said congregations, or either of them, as this defendant knows or believes. And this defendant doth deny that John Diemer, Michael Hillegass, Joest Schmidt and Jacob Siegel or either of them was ever elected or appointed elders or church-wardens of the said German Reformed Church of Philadelphia or of Skippack, or of any other place or church within this province, according to the rules, order, and customs of the said church of Philadelphia or Skippack, or any other German Reformed Church within this province as this defendant knows or believes. Wherefore, this defendant humbly conceives and is advised that neither the said complainants John Diemer, Michael Hillegass, Joest Schmidt, and Jacob Siegel, nor either of them, nor the said complainants Hendrick Weller and William Rohrich, with-

out the rest of the said church-wardens or elders of the said German Reformed Church of Philadelphia together with the church-wardens or elders of the German Reformed Church of Skippack, have any right to call this defendant to account for the matters and things alleged in the said bill of complaint. But for-as-much as this defendant is willing that a just and true account may be rendered of all his actings and doings in relation to the trust mentioned in the complainants' said Bill of Complaint, and that this defendant may be discharged from the said trust and have the direction of this honorable court therein, he further answereth and saith that the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack in conjunction with their minister George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) did prefer a petition to the excellent Classis of Divinity in the United Provinces, which petition this defendant saith was signed and subscribed by the church-wardens or elders of both the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, and (as this defendant remembers) it set forth the unhappy and necessitous condition of the said congregations and prayed the charitable donations of the said Classis, and this defendant delivered the said petition to Doctor Wilhelmus in the bill named. This defendant believes a report was spread in Pensilvania that collections of money had thereupon been made, and that before such news arrived the said George Michael Weitzins (alias Weiss) had prepared to return to Holland or Germany, and that upon receiving the said news the said congregations or one of them might entreat him to stay, to which the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) might make such answer as in the complainants said bill of complaint is set forth, and might promise to serve them to the utmost of his power; and this defendant doth acknowledge himself to have been a member of the German Reformed Church of Skippack from its first establishment, but not of the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia, as in the bill charged. And this defendant doth deny that he usually traded into Holland or Germany, as in the complainants said bill of complaint is falsely suggested, other than and except that this defendant went over there in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven to fetch his relations, and laid out his money (as passengers generally do) in goods fit for sale in this country. And this defendant saith that before or since that time he never carried on any trade to or from Holland or Germany (except as hereinafter mentioned). And this defendant doth admit that he was acquainted with Doctor Wilhelmus in the bill named, and was informed by him that a collection had been made in favor of the said congregations of the German reformed Church of Philadelphia and Skippack to the amount of about two hundred guilders, but knows not of his own knowledge what sum was collected. And this defendant saith that the said Doctor Wilhelmus requested him this defendant to receive the monies so collected for the use of the sd. congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack. But this defendant absolutely refused so to do, having been informed by letter from some of his friends in Pensilvania that some of the members of the sd. congregations were jealous or entertained some suspicions of this defendants' honesty, or to that purpose. And this defendant saith that he this defendant returned to Holland from Pensylvania in August in the year of our Lord 1729 and denies that he did acquaint the said congregations, church-wardens or elders, or any person or persons whatsoever, that he intended a voyage to Holland and from thence to Frankfurt in Germany, or that he should be glad of the company of the said

George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) or that he would willingly assist him in doing any service he could to his brethren of the Reformed Church of Philadelphia; or that if he should stand in need of any money for that purpose or for his own private wants that he this defendant would furnish him, or anything to that or the like purpose, as in the said bill of complaint is falsely suggested. But on the contrary this defendant saith that on his return from Holland to Pensilvania in the year of our Lord 1729 as aforesaid (or any time afterwards till prevailed on as hereafter mentioned) he had no thought or design of going abroad any more. But several of the church-wardens or elders of the said congregations of Philada. and Skippack and the said George Michael Weitzins (alias Wei-s) frequently applied to the defendant and earnestly entreated him to go to Holland and Germany once more, to accompany and assist the said George Michael Weitzins (alias Weiss) in collecting and receiving monies collected and to be collected for the use of the said congregations. And the better to prevail on this defendant to comply with their request they voluntarily and of their own accord faithfully promised that they would reimburse and pay to him this defendant all costs and charges and expenses that he should be at in the said voyage, and that they would likewise pay and allow him any reasonable satisfaction for his time and trouble therein. But this defendant often refused to take the said voyage, this defendant being then employed in carrying on certain buildings on his plantation at Skippack, and it was likely to be very prejudicial to this defendants affairs. And this defendant saith that in order to get rid of their importunities he endeavored to get some other person to undertake the said voyage in his stead and accordingly offered £5 out of his own pocket to one Hans William Rohrich who was willing to go. But neither of the said congregations thought fit to trust him. And this defendant saith that by the continued importunities of the said members of the said congregations, their elders or church-wardens and minister, induced by their fair promises expecting that agreeable thereto he should be reimbursed all the charge and expense he should be at and be also generously rewarded for his trouble and upon the said elders or church-wardens signing an instrument for that purpose he the said defendant was at length prevailed upon to undertake the said voyage, tho' hazardous, troublesome and very prejudicial to this defendants affairs and interest, and the great displeasure and uneasiness of his most intimate friends and relations. And this defendant saith that true it is a power was given to this defendant signed by the elders or church-wardens of both the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, but denies that the said power is of the purport or contents in the bill set forth, or that he was thereby enjoined to observe the directions of the Classis in Holland, as may appear by the said power now in the defendants possession and ready to be produced to this honorable court, a copy whereof is to this defendants answer annexed, which this defendant prays may be taken as part of this his answer. And this defendant doth admit that at the time when the said power was given said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) was absent and this defendant believes it was given without his knowledge. And this defendant doth admit that such application was made and such instrument signed by your honor as in said complainants' said bill of complaint is mentioned. And this defendant saith he believes it to be true that such a book called a collect-book, as in the bill mentioned, was prepared by the church-wardens or elders of

the said congregations, but knows it not of his own knowledge. But this defendant saith that when the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) was about to leave Holland and return to Pensilvania he the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) delivered this defendant a book which in the title page thereof (wrote in High Dutch) is called 'a general book of collects made for the use of the reformed High Dutch congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack in Pensilvania, which certifies for a testimony of truth their minister together with the elders or church-wardens.' Underneath which title or writing is subscribed the names of the said minister George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) and the names of the said elders or church-wardens of the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, in which said book is also contained certain memorandums and copies wrote (as this defendant verily believes) by the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) in which memorandums is mentioned to have been given several sums of money to the amount of two thousand and one hundred guilders and upward, which book the said defendant now hath in his custody and is ready to produce to this honorable court. This defendant saith he embarked with the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) for Holland and arrived there about the time the complainants' said bill of complaint mentioned, and that upon their arrival the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) and this defendant made application to Doctor Wilhelmus and other persons for the collected money above mentioned, and requested the same might be paid to the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) for the use of the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, and the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) did several times receive several sums of money on that account, but how much or to what sums this defendant cannot remember. And this defendant saith that the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) being about to leave Holland and return to Pensilvania this defendant did produce the power above mentioned to be given this defendant by the said elders or church-wardens and the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) did also then give this defendant another power to act in the premises in his absence, but did not enjoin him to follow the directions of the Classis in Holland neither did this defendant promise him so to do. Nevertheless this defendant saith he always observed and punctually followed the direction of the said Classis and Presides of Holland in managing the affairs so committed to his care for the said congregations, and that the said Classis and Presides of Holland never gave this defendant any other directions than the manner and places how and where the monies should be collected, as this defendant knows or remembers. And this defendant denies he ever acquainted the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) that he designed to go and trade at Frankfort in Germany, neither had this defendant any other trade or business there than to collect money for the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack and otherwise to negotiate their affairs. And this defendant doth deny he ever received the sum of two thousand one hundred and thirty-two guilders and twelve stivers, or any sum or sums of money whatsoever of the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss). But saith that by virtue of a letter or order from Mr. John Leonhard Van Asten, of Rotterdam, to whom this said defendant believes the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) has paid seven hundred and fifty guilders, this defendant received of Messieurs Charles and Isaac Behaghe at Frankfort, the like sum of seven hundred and

fifty guilders of Holland's currency for the use of the said congregations of the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia and Skippack, amounting to about one hundred and twelve pounds, ten shillings and one-half penny of the currency of this province of Pensilvania. And this defendant saith he also received for the use of the said congregations as follows : Of the Reformed Dutch congregation at Frankfort, forty guilders; of the Reformed French Church at Frankfort, twenty guilders; of the Reformed French Church of Hanan, twelve guilders; of the Reformed Low Dutch Church of Hanau, four guilders; amounting in the whole to seventy six Dutch guilders or florins, of the value of about eleven pounds eleven shillings and eleven pence half-penny which together with the above sum of one hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings and one half-penny makes the sum of one hundred and twenty three pounds eighteen shillings Pensilvania currency. And this defendant further saith that he hath received no further or other sum or sums of money for the use of the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack of any person or persons whatsoever; that the names of the congregations or churches who paid the same and the several sums by them paid is inserted in the collect-book above mentioned. And this defendant doth deny that he ever suggested that by trading to Germany he could improve the said money so committed to his care to the great advantage of the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, or either of them, or anything tending to that purpose. And this defendant further saith—that some small time before he received the said monies, he, together with the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) did consult and advise with Doctor Wilhelmus in the bill named about disposing of the same, and it was then proposed by the said George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) that it should be laid out in goods and merchandise which the sd. Doctor Wilhelmus approved of, and the sd. George Michael Weitzius (alias Weiss) directed this defendant to lay out what money should come to his hands in certain goods and merchandise, a particular whereof he delivered to this defendant in writing, intimating that it would be much more for the advantage of the sd. congregation than to carry it over in specie. And this defendant saith that he, this defendant, did accordingly lay out and expend all the said money so by him received in purchasing the said goods pursuant to the said directions, which goods this defendant (being about to return to Philadelphia) caused to be shipped on board the ship called the Brittaina Galley, Michael Franklyn, master, then bound for Philadelphia, for the use and on the proper account and risk of the said congregations of Philada. and Skippack. And this defendant further saith that at the time the said ship was about to sail the said Doctor Wilhelmus ordered and directed this defendant to go to the Synod for North and South Holland, held at Dordrecht, which this defendant accordingly did, being unwilling to omit anything that might tend to the interest or service of the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack, that this defendant returned with all possible expedition to Rotterdam. But (to this defendant's great surprise) the said ship was sailed for England in order to be cleared of the custom house there, that she might lawfully proceed on her said voyage to Philadelphia, to the great damage of this defendant, his clothes, effects and provisions being on board; that the master of the said ship being unwilling to advance any money for the duty or customs of the goods so shipped for the use of the said congregations as aforesaid, left them in the custody of the collector of His Majesty's cus-

toms at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight (where the said ship went to clear) as this defendant is informed by letters from Mr. John Hope, a merchant there; that this defendant arrived at Cowes in or about June, in the year of our Lord 1732, on his voyage to Philadelphia, and then endeavored as much as in him lay to get the said goods with him. But before the defendant or the collector of customs could procure an account of what sum was due for customs and duties, the ship this defendant went in was ready to sail and he was forced to go away without them. But this defendant saith that before his departure from said island he left in the hands of the said Mr. John Hope (who is reputed an eminent merchant there) forty-nine pistoles of gold of the value about £68, 12s. Pensilvania currency, in order to pay the duty, custom and freight of the said goods and to return the overplus (if any) to this defendant. And this defendant saith that some time in November last he received a letter from the said Mr. Hope signifying that the duty or custom of the said goods was paid and that he only waited an opportunity of shipping them to Philadelphia. And this defendant saith that he hath been frequently requested by the complainants to pay them the said 2132 guilders and 76 guilders in the bill mentioned and this defendant refused so to do. But this defendant then offered to pay into the hands of the elders or church wardens of both the sd. congregations of Phila. and Skippack, who, this defendant apprehends, are the only persons who can give this defendant a legal discharge for the same, all sum or sums of money which on a fair account to be settled between them should be found due or in this defendant's hands, for the use of the said congregations, reasonable deductions being made for the expense, time, and trouble of the aforesaid voyage, according to their agreement. And in order to make them easy was also willing at that time and offered them to take the above mentioned goods on this defendant's own proper account and risk, and to allow them money in lieu thereof. And this defendant saith that some of the principal members of the said congregations thought this proposal very just, but the complainants rejected it and insisted very strenuously on this defendant's paying them the whole two thousand one hundred and thirty-two guilders and seventy-six guilders in the bill mentioned, that this defendant declared he had never received so much. This defendant further saith that he was always willing to render a just and true account of all monies received by him for the use of the said congregations of Philada. and Skippack and to pay what shall be found in his hands on an account stated and reasonable deductions made for this defendant's time and trouble and expense as aforesaid, and still is ready so to do as this honourable court shall direct, but humbly hopes that as the complainants have refused the fair and generous proposals of this defendant this defendant shall not now be compelled to take the said goods on his own account, they being shipped by the direction of the said George Weitzius (alias Wei-s) with the approbation of the said Dr. Wilhelmus, for the proper account and risk of the said congregations of Philadelphia and Skippack. And this defendant saith that this defendant thought and was advised that it was not safe or agreeable to the trust in him reposed to pay what was in his hands to the complainants, they not having any right or authority to receive the same, and for that the same belonged as well to the congregation of the German reformed church at Skippack as to the congregation of the German reformed church at Philadelphia, for whose joint use and benefit this defendant received the same. And this defendant doth aver

it was so intended by the persons who paid the same. And this defendant further saith that he is credibly informed and believes he is able to prove to this honorable court that the said complainants' said bill of complaint is brought and this suit commenced and carried on without the consent and against the will of the elders or church wardens of the said German reformed church of Skippack and of the one-half of the elders or church wardens of the German reformed church of Philadelphia, and against the general consent of the members of both the said congregations, on purpose to vex and trouble this defendant and rather to put this defendant to charge and expense than for any equitable cause. And this defendant saith that he has been so far from injuring the said congregations that in all things he has constantly endeavored to promote their interest, and had advanced, lent and paid before his voyage to Holland about the sum of £150 Pensilvania currency, in order to purchase some land and build a church for the use of the said congregations, which money remains unpaid with the interest thereof to this day. And this defendant for their greater ease in repaying the same condescended to wait till the aforesaid monies so collected in Holland should arrive. And this defendant denies he now hath or hath had at any time since his return from Holland as aforesaid any design or intention to depart this province as in a petition preferred to this honorable court by the complainants has been falsely suggested. And this defendant doth deny all combination in the bill charged, without that any other matter or thing in the complainants' said bill of complaint contained material or necessary for this defendant to make answer unto, and not herein and hereby sufficiently answered unto, confessed or avoided, traversed or denied, is true to the knowledge and belief of this defendant, all which matters and things this defendant is ready to aver and prove as this honourable court shall direct, and humbly prays to be hence dismissed with his reasonable costs and charges in this behalf most wrongfully sustained.

THOS. HOPKINSON.

Quarto die Septembris, 1733.

Coram THOS. LAWRENCE.

D.

TO MR. LOGAN,

Leyden, April 20, 1739.

President of the Council, Philadelphia.

SIR: It is a month ago that I sent to Mr. Collinson some copies of the edition of your Meletemata and Canones. I hope you may find they are printed according to your intention. Your letter to Linnaeus is send to him at Upsal, where he got the liberty to give Colleges upon the History of Plants and Animals. In my next I hope to send you the Flora Virginica, and if anything more of your service I shall always be found ready.

I hope you will excuse me I am so free with you that I address these next going papers to you, in hope you will be so kind to assist the gentlemen of our Synode in their proposing. You may depend that, if it is in their power, they will always be ready and very thankfull.

I am Dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

JOH. FRED. GRONOVIVS.*

* John F. Gronovius, Junior, a celebrated botanist, died 1760.

These gentlemen having seen your Meletemata and Canones were very solicitous about your Titles, how they should be set rightly in Dutch; but because all our Collegies are a great deal inferior to your post, viz., President of the Council, etc., they concluded that your post in our Dutch answered to what we called Governor. I hope you will excuse them of that mistake, and really we have not in our language proper words for it.

P. S. Here are printed the Fundamenta Artis Docimathecae, by which every one finding a mineral in a short time can tell how rich it is, only he requires to have a few instruments. I assure you this is one of the most useful books for the public and particular for those countreys in America where you have such rich and fine cuprum caeruleum et violaceum. In a month's time it will be finished. When you desire to have it, pray let me know it in your next to Mr. Collinson.

I have translated the letter of the Deputies of the Synode in English as well as I could.

E.

HAGUE in HOLLAND, April the 15, 1739.

SIR: It is at the instance of Dr. Gronovius that we trouble you with these, and as it is something of consequence, we hope you will do us the favor to assist us.

What here follows is grounded upon a Resolution taken by the Reverend Synode of South Holland, Anno 1738, at the Hague about the affairs of Pennsylvania, the same Synode qualifide me and some other of the ministers to be Her Deputys.

As such I pray the God of Heaven and Earth, upon whom we call as a Father in Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost, that at his honour and by His blessings the Prosperity of the English Nation, so befriended by our Dutch, may long continue and increase, not only in the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, known under the name of Great Britaigne, but also in her other countreys, provinces and colonys, particularly Pennsylvania, where you are President of the Council.

Some years ago are come to Holland two persons belonging to our Dutch church at Philadelphia, viz.: Mr. George Michael Weiss, minister, and Jacob Reiff, elder of the Church, to collect charitys for the benefit and promoting of the Divine Service for our Fellow-Believers in Pennsylvania. These two persons did not only stay in Holland, but went also to other Countreys.

But we understood more than once, and lately in a letter of Mr. John Diemer, dated the 16th of January, 1736, that the money which they hath collected was not yet distribute by the said persons to such to whom it should belong.

Since that time is Mr. Weiss called from Philadelphia to Kats Kill, to be a minister there, but before he departed he purged himself with an oath, that of the collected money was no more received than 200 guilders, which (so as people says) were belonged to him for the expenses of his journey.

The same Weiss has also declared with an oath, that the remaining money was in the hands of Mr. Reiff. But this Mr. Reiff (as much as we know still living at Philadelphia) is so impudent, that he says that there is no more collected than 750 guilders, notwithstanding in his col-

lect-book, of which a copy is sent to us appear, that they in Holland only have collected two-thousand one hundred and thirty-two gilders, twelve stuyvers, besides the money they have collected in Germany, and particularly at Francford at the Mayn in several sums, besides a sum of 750 Hollands, as appears in the *Copia Copiae*. Above all this, there was granted to these persons to collect 600 gilders at Amsterdam, what we suppose they have done.

I don't doubt, sir, you will conclude with us that to keep back that money, given to such a good intention, is in effect a sacrilege and a church-robbery, wherefore we think we are obliged to prosecute Reiff to the utmost degree, for the money given here as a charity for the church and our people in Pennsylvania.

But, sir, we hath no one to whom we should make our addresses, till Dr. Gronovius hearing of the bad way of doing of these two persons, desired us we should make up our case, that he would send it to you. Upon instant, sir, we did not loss our time, but meet together, and take at present the liberty to present our case to you by the care of the Doctor.

I come then with my Brothers Deputys in the name of the whole Synode to desire you, you who will be so kind to interpose your authority, to oblige Mr. Reiff (whom we hear is a man who hath money) to clear his book, that he may give an account of the receipts and expenses, and that the rest of the money should be given where it belongs.

We don't doubt when you call him to you he will easily repent. But at the contrary, if Reiff should prove himself a proud fellow, we beg the favour you would be so kind to give your advice to Mr. Drastius, a minister at Bucks county, and Dr. John Diemer, to these two gentlemen, known to us as men of honor and candor we have given authority (and will give more) to prosecute Reiff in law for not performing his duty and bad way of doing, and the restitution of church-robbery, so far as he may be guilty of it, for sir, you must know, this money is not collected for the benefit of private persons or churches, but in generall for all our Dutch churches in Pennsylvania. Wherefore we beg leave we may recommend our Brothers Ministers to your protection.

We don't doubt that by your interposition we may prevail, and we assure you that we never fail to remember you in our memorandums, being always ready to accept your orders, with we are, Sir,

By the orders and in the name of the deputys of the Reverend Synode of South Holland,
Your most obedient humble servant,
ERNESTUS ENGELBURTUS PROBSTING,
Minister at Heusden, and one of the Deputys of the Reverend Synode.

COPIA COPIAE.

At the first side of the copy was wrote, £12.

Account of the money collected by George Michael Weiss and Jacob Reiff for the Churches in Pennsylvania:

1. Barth. Van Else, minister at Rotterdam, hath given 79 gilders, by the order of the Reformed Synode of South-Holland, meeting at Breda f. 79.
2. Alard Tiele, minister at Rotterdam, hath given the 16th of August, 1780, by order of the Rev. Synode of South-Holland, meeting anno presente 1729 at Kuylenberg " 696.12

- 3. J. Geelkerke hath given at the orders of the Rev. Synode of North Holland to the Deputes at Haarlem " 390.
- 4. The Consistory at Amsterdam (vid. the ministers and elders) hath given the 19th of Octob. 1730, when John Visscher was president of the Synode " 150.
- 5. The Deacons of the same town have given for the same purpose the 26th of Octob. 1730, Wilh. Colvenhobe, Deacon . " 600.
- N. B. Charitys of private persons in Holland :
 - A. B. hath given in ready money, the 26 Octob. 1730 . . . " 120.
 - D. G. hath given ready money, the 2nd Nov. 1730 " 20.
 - I. R. hath given in ready money " 6.
 - G. Corve hath given in ready money, the 2nd Nov. 1730 . . 40.
 - P. R. 31.

Summa, f. 2131.12

Besides this money there is collected in Germany, videlicet:

At Frankfort at the Maine

1	40
2	20
3	12
4	4
	<hr/>
	76
	<hr/>

750 Holland Sch.

G. C. Von Asten

(This is written in high Dutch which I don't understand myself).
There is again something which we cannot discover, viz.:

Franck 24
Hanau 62

Collata concordant,
ERNESTUS ENGELBERTUS PROBSTING,
Synodi Suid-Hollandiae Deputatus.

April 21, 1739.

At the other side of the copy was written :

That G. M. Weiss hath given an oath that the money was in the hands of Mr. Reiff, 3d Nov. 1735.

THOM. LAWRENCE in Philadelphia.
F.

Extract from Saur's "Pennsylvanische Beriche," Nov. 16, 1749.

Nachdem ich seit geraumer Zeit mit empfindlich und unerweislichen Anklagen sehr bin gekränket worden, wegen dem Geldt so von den Hoch-Ehrw. Synoden von Zuydt und Nord-Holland von ohngefähr 18 Jahren durch Mr. Jacob Reiff zum Nutzen der Reformirten nach Pennsylvanien ist geschickt worden, so habe ich vor nöthig'errachtet zur Rettung meiner Unschuld und Ablehnung solcher Verläumdungen, gegenwärtigen Extract in öffentliche Zeitung setzen zu lassen; als welcher ein Extract oder Auszug ist von einem Zeugniß das meine Wohl-Ehrw. und liebe Amptsbrüder bei ihrer letz'en Zusammenkunft, nachdem sie diese Sache untersucht, mir ertheilt haben, und folgender Massen lautet:

Wir geben Hrn. Bruder Pfarrherrn Schlatter beygefügetes Zeugniß nach unserem Gewissen und guten Vorbedacht, damit es öffentlich und jeder manniglich möchte bekannt werden, als folget :

Herr Bruder Schlatter, Pfarrherr zu Philada. und Germantown, hat in Betrachtung des Holländischen Collecten-Geldes von Jacob Reiff in 100 Spanischen Pistolen Empfang nichts anderes gethan als seine Pflicht, und was ihm ausdrücklich durch Briefe von einem Hoch-Ehrw. Synode von Zuydt-Holland verwichenen Jahr diesen Gelder halber ist überschrieben worden, welchem er dann auch gewissenhaft und getren nachgekommen, obschon Herr Schlatter ehe er diese Orders aus Holland empfangen aus Liebe zu seiner Gemeindedenen Herrn Vorstehern allhier beinahe den halben Theil davon gegeben; das er aber hoffet an hohem Ort wohl verantworten zu können. Wie wir solches klar und deutlich aus einer freiwillig an uns vorgelegten Rechnung gesehen haben; zu Urkund dessen ist von uns eigenhändig unterschrieben und bekräftigt worden.

Philadelphia, den 24ten October, 1749.

JOHN BARTH. RIEGER,
p. t. Praeses.

GEORGE MICHAEL WEISS,
p. t. Scriba.

JOHN PHILIP LEIDICH,
Falckner-Schwamm.

MICHAEL SCHLATTER,
Pfr. in Philadelphia.

III.

THE ETERNAL HUMANITY AND UNIVERSAL MEDIATION OF THE CHRIST.

BY REV. WM. RUPP, D.D.

“THERE is one God, one mediator also between God and men, himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all; the testimony to be borne in its own time.” 1 Tim. 2: 5, 6.

The manhood of the Christ, which is the medium of all divine activity among men, according to the teaching of the New Testament, is not merely that of a particular man among others of His kind. He is the central, the universal man, the Second or Last Adam, *ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδάμ*, in whom the human race has its real bond of union. The human race is not merely a mass of disconnected individuals, but an organism of which Christ is the all-embracing, all-sustaining centre. Not the first, but the Second Adam is the essential Head of humanity as a moral and spiritual organism; and He, therefore, is the summing up and completion of all things in heaven and upon the earth. The evidence of modern science points to the conclusion that the human race is physically one, having sprung from a single ancestor; but even if this conclusion should hereafter be reversed, the spiritual or essential unity of the race would still be secure in the person of the last Adam; and this is the only kind of unity that is of practical importance.

But as the last Adam, the head and crown of humanity, Christ is also in one sense its beginning. “He is before all things, and in Him all things consist, or hold together.” He is the *alpha* as well as the *omega* of human history. The end of any organic process, whether it be in nature or history,

must always be regarded as the organic and controlling idea of the process; just as the workman's conception of the end to be accomplished is the directing idea of the work which he performs. This proposition could only be denied on the supposition that, with the atheistic phase of the doctrine of evolution, we should deny the whole conception of ideas and final causes in the universe. If humanity be more than the mere chance-product of the blind self-evolution of an unconscious world-process, then we must recognize in the unfolding life of humanity the presence of a great governing, vitalizing idea; and this idea according to the teaching of Christianity, is the idea of the Christ. This idea, therefore, is related not only to the race as a whole but also to every single man both as the efficient and as the final cause of his being.

And, now, this Christ-idea in humanity was never at any time a mere abstraction of the divine mind. Human ideas may often be simply abstractions of thought; but divine ideas are always realities. The ideas working in nature are not mere abstract forms of thought, but forms of thought energized and quickened by the divine will into some sort of substantial existence; that is to say, forms of thought which have attained unto real being by the entrance into them of something of the divine personality itself. So then, the creative, organic idea in humanity—the idea which lies at the root of every man's being, determining both his own peculiar nature and his relations to the whole, must be an essential form or subsistence of the divine personality itself, or in other words, a divine person. And this divine person is the eternal Christ, or the Logos of St. John's Gospel; of the thought of which the *Sophia* of the books of Proverbs and of Wisdom was a vague anticipation and prophecy.

According to St. John, the Logos, who is Himself God and yet distinct from God, is the mediator of every divine creation. "All things were made through Him (*δι' αὐτοῦ*), and without Him (or apart from Him, *χωρὶς αὐτοῦ*) was not one thing made." The material universe, accordingly, has the ground of its being

in Him; and He is the almighty bearer of all existing things—or that Word of divine power by which God beareth all things (Heb. 1: 3). To men He stands in the relation not merely of creator, and life-giver, but also of illuminator. “In Him was life, and the life was the light of men.” The life which is in the Logos is not only the source of the being and physical animation of men, but in an especial manner the source of the light which shines in their reason and conscience. The reason and conscience of men—that which makes them men in distinction from brutes, persons in distinction from things—the reason and conscience are a light kindled and fed by the light of the eternal Logos, or Christ. This is the teaching of St. John; and this teaching was strongly emphasized by some of the early fathers, Justin Martyr, for example, and Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. According to the teaching of these men the heathen, even in pre-christian times, were in some real way related to Christ; and whatever truth there was in their thoughts and good in their actions was supposed to have had its origin in this relation. Justin Martyr holds that all races of men in the past were partakers of the Word, or Christ; and that “those who lived agreeably to the Word (or *reason μετὰ λόγου*) were Christians, although they may have been thought atheists,” like Socrates and Heraclitus.

But is it proper in this way to refer directly to *Christ* what, according to the scholastic Christology, could be true only of the pre-incarnate Logos, the *λόγος ἄσαρκος*, in distinction from the *λόγος ἐνσαρκος*? Granted that all men, of all times and places, stand in some essential relation to the eternal creative Logos, does this imply that they are in any essential relation to Christ, or that in any sense the man Christ Jesus is the mediator of real divine life and grace to all men? The answer which we shall give to this question will depend upon our conception of the relation between the eternal Divine Logos and the man Christ Jesus. Is this relation an eternal and necessary, or merely a temporary and accidental relation? Is the being of Christ something essentially different from the being of the eternal Logos? “The Word became flesh”—ὁ λόγος σὰρξ

ἐγένετο. The term *flesh* here doubtless stands for the conception of *manhood*. The proposition means that the Word became man. But does this imply that the Divine Word or Logos became something essentially other than He was before? If so, then what becomes of the immutability of the divine nature? God is unchangeable. St. James declares that in the Father of lights there is no variation or shadow of turning; and this we suppose to be true of the whole Godhead, and not merely of one subsistence therein. This may not mean that there can be no movement of life in the divine being, no change of states, no temporal unfolding of eternal possibilities. But we presume that it does mean that God can not become something essentially other than He is. He can not become any thing for which there is no aptitude or predetermination in His eternal being.

When, therefore, the Logos becomes man, He does not become anything that previously was foreign to His nature. On the contrary, the state of being man must be an eternal disposition or mode of being in the Divine Logos. Godhood and manhood are, therefore, not contradictory entities, mutually incompatible, and capable of existing only side by side of each other; but they must be conceived as ideally and essentially one in the constitution of the Eternal Logos, who in the fullness of time became incarnate and was made man. And this becoming incarnate was a *temporal act* only as viewed from our present human standpoint. As viewed from the divine standpoint it is an *eternal act*—an act that is wholly above and apart from time. The category of time has no application to God as God. There is in Him no *before* and no *after*. He can enter into time, indeed, and unfold His being and attributes in historical conditions; but such entrance into time must itself be a timeless act on the part of God, by which His own being is not essentially changed; and such possibility of entering into time implies, moreover, that this form of existence is an original mode in the eternal being of God. Applying this reasoning to the incarnation, it follows that the historical human Christ is but the temporal manifestation of an eternal ideal Christ; and that the

eternal ideal Christ and the temporal human Christ are not two, but one Christ: one—to use the language of the Athanasian Creed—“not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by assumption of the manhood into God;” which assumption, however, it must be borne in mind, would not have been possible but for the existence of the ideal manhood in God as the archetype and ground of all actual manhood in time.

This conception of the eternal ideal humanity of Christ will serve, in the first place, as an explanation—so far as any explanation is possible—of the constitution of Christ's person; and, secondly, of the relation to each other of the attributes of the divine and human natures which co-exist in Him. The difficulty in the doctrine of the incarnation is to hold fast the idea of the unity of person along with that of the duality of natures. The union of the divine and human natures, each in its wholeness, would seem to imply the union of two persons in one; which is an impossible conception. This difficulty theologians, from the time of John of Damascus, have sought to remove by asserting the impersonality of Christ's human nature. The Divine Logos, it has been said, is the person-forming factor in the being of Christ; while the human nature which He assumed is anhypostatic, or impersonal.* Against this view the objection has usually been urged that personality is necessary to the integrity of human nature; and an impersonal human nature

* Concerning the manner in which the Logos became the person of Christ different views have been held. One view is that the Logos, continuing to exist in the absolute form of deity, simply assumed a human body in the womb of the virgin. According to this view Jesus, whose real self was the Divine Logos, possessed from the beginning all the attributes of divinity, but ordinarily concealed them during His earthly life. This makes the human life of Jesus unreal. Another view is that the Logos divested Himself of the divine attributes, and reduced Himself to the capacity of an unconscious human soul-germ, from which point He then developed Himself in true human fashion. This view is in conflict with a proper conception of deity. The reduction of one person of the Trinity to a state of unconsciousness, by which He would become *virtually* non-existent, would leave a gap in the Trinity. It is necessary to conceive of the incarnation in such way that the proper divine being of the Logos and the human consciousness of Jesus may both be maintained.

would be human nature devoid of its most distinguishing characteristic. The validity of this objection must be admitted as against the ordinary form of the doctrine to which it is opposed. Human nature in its completeness cannot be represented as impersonal. But what is it that makes human nature personal? Or rather, what is it that makes the human individual a person? It is the personality of the creative Divine Logos, by whose action in humanity, conditioned by the natural process of generation, a physico-psychical basis is produced, out of which the proper human self or person, with all its mental and moral qualities, raises itself by its own spontaneous effort. The developed personality can contain no more than is originally involved, in the way of potentiality, in the physico-psychical basis or germ; and that germ cannot have its origin in impersonal matter, or in nothing (*nihilo*), but only in the life of the personal creative Logos. The Logos, therefore, is in a most real sense the root of every human person; and every human person is, consequently, a relative manifestation, or *resounding* (*personare*) of the creative Logos in human nature.*

It follows, accordingly, that human nature universally possesses the quality of personality only in consequence of its relation to the Divine Logos; and that the humanity of Christ is, therefore, in this respect not wholly singular. The Logos is the person-forming factor in the constitution of Christ's being, but in a way that finds some analogy at least in the constitution of every human being. Through an extraordinary creative agency of the Divine Logos at a certain point in the life of humanity a physico-psychical being is produced, from which there arises a personality that is progressively one with the personality

* The above is not intended to be a denial of the commonly received etymology of the word *person*. We know that *persona* in Latin meant the *mask* used by an actor on the stage. But the word was applied also in common life to denote the *part* or *character* which one sustains in the world—a character determined by the world's ruling Mind, and through which that Mind comes to some degrees of manifestation. The conception of the world's universal harmony in some measure sounds through (*personal*) each one of the innumerable individuals which make up its totality. •

of the Logos. This is the personality of Jesus, who, therefore, is the Son of God in a pre-eminent sense that applies to Him alone. He is like unto His brethren, and yet so much greater than they, that He is an entirely unique man, and that His being somehow embraces and bears the being of all other men. He differs from other men in this, that in Him dwells all the *fullness* of the Godhead bodily (Col. 2:9)—a statement, however, which refers to His eternal glorified state, and need not be taken to mean that Jesus during the days of His flesh was an *exhaustive* embodiment of the divine personality that appeared in Him. The humanity of Jesus became an adequate medium for the full representation of the Divine only through His glorification; and *now* the divine being, which resounds faintly and imperfectly in the person of every man, resounds perfectly in the person of Christ. And in this self-utterance in human form the Divine suffers no violence, because it takes place in accordance with an eternal law of the divine being. The real Christ is the manifestation in time of the eternal ideal Christ; and these are one.

But this conception of the oneness of the real Christ with the eternal or ideal Christ in the divine being enables us also best to understand the relation to each other of the attributes of the divine and human natures in His person. On the supposition that, in becoming man, the Logos became something essentially other than He was before, or that the human nature which He assumed was something absolutely foreign to the nature in which He existed before, it is impossible to conceive of the incarnation without doing violence to either nature concerned. In the Chalcedonian creed we are taught that the union of the divine and human natures in the constitution of Christ was effected without the loss of the peculiar properties of either. The divine and human natures exist in Him *ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαίρετως, ἀχωρίστως*. But this conception is possible only on the supposition that these two natures, as they are united in Christ, are not heterogeneous. If the human nature were something absolutely other than the divine, then they might be

made to stand aside of each other, according to the Nestorian, or to be mixed together, according to the Eutychian scheme of thought; but they could not, without confusion or change, and without separation or division, be united in the constitution of one person. The doctrine of a *communicatio idiomatum* of the two natures in Christ must ever lead to a grotesque conception of Christ, so long as these two natures are supposed to be in their own essence contradictory.

The view here presented of the ideal existence of Christ in eternity, with which the existence of the real Christ in time is essentially one, enables us to understand those statements of Scripture in which affirmations are made concerning the real or historical Christ, which, on the traditional view, seem to be true only of the pre-incarnate Logos.* Thus it is said of the Lord Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 8: 6) that "through Him are all things, and we through Him." Compare also Rom. 11: 36, though in this last passage the immediate subject in the mind of the apostle may have been the Jehovah of the Old Testament, with whom, however, Jesus is often directly identified. But in Col. 1 it is declared of the historical Son of God, in whom we have redemption, that He is the "first-born of every creation" (v. 15), that "in Him all things were created" (v. 16), that "all things were created through Him and for Him," that "He is before all things, and in Him all things consist, and the same is the head of the body, the Church" (v. 18). The subject through this whole passage is the same, namely, the real historical Son of God. So again in Phil. 2: 5-11, it is said of Christ Jesus, who

* It should not be forgotten that the temporal preposition *pre* is applicable to the incarnation only as viewed from the finite human standpoint. As viewed from this standpoint the incarnation occurs in time, and is preceded and followed by other moments of time. As viewed from the divine side it is above time, and there is in relation to it no *before* and no *after*. The divine act of incarnation is an eternal or timeless act; and for the divine being itself (though not necessarily also for the divine thinking) the incarnation must be a timeless fact. But the result of this act in the human world, and for human apprehension, comes under the category of time. It has been our effort thus far in this paper to contemplate the timeless act and the temporal results as opposite sides of one indivisible reality.

is here set forth as an example of humility to believers, that being in the form of God, He counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant and beginning to exist in the likeness of men. And, finally, it is the actual Christ in whom believers are said to have been chosen before the foundation of the world (Eph. 1 : 4). Of these passages it is sometimes said that what the apostle here predicates of the actual Christ, he meant merely of the pre-incarnate or un-incarnate Logos. The apostle, accordingly, did not succeed in saying what he meant to say. We do not consider this to be a tenable explanation. If this distinction had been in the mind of the apostle at all, we believe that he would have been quite competent to express it. Others, again, in the passages referred to explain the term Christ merely to signify the "idea" of Christ. This explanation must be rejected, if by idea is understood merely an abstraction of the divine mind; in which case it would amount to no more than the Alexandrian notion of the divine *Sophia*, as we have it in the books of Proverbs and of Wisdom. This is the Socinian explanation of the passages under consideration. If, however, by the idea of Christ, or the Christ-idea, we understand that eternal subsistence in the divine being which is, on the one hand, the archetype and bearer of the world-idea as a whole, with the possibility of all finite ideas embraced therein, and which, on the other hand, involves in its essential constitution the eternal and necessary predetermination of manhood; then we may admit that the Christ, "in whom all things were made," who "is before Abraham," and in whom believers "were chosen before the foundation of the world," is indeed the idea of Christ.

But if the idea of Christ is thus an eternal predetermination in the divine essence, of which the historical Christ is but the temporal manifestation, then it follows that this manifestation could not have been conditioned as a reality by any accidental circumstance in the history of the world. The incarnation, then, was not called for simply by the fact of sin, but would have come to pass even if there had never been any sin. The oppo-

site view would be tenable only on the supposition that sin is not the consequence of human self-determination or freedom, but of an absolute, eternal divine decree, making it a necessity in the history of humanity; in which case, however, it would involve for man no responsibility or guilt. The incarnation has its ground of necessity in the essential nature of God, and in the essential nature of the world as determined by the eternal will of God. And quite apart from sin, therefore, the man Christ Jesus is the mediator between God and men. The fact of sin, indeed, modifies the manner in which He exercises the office of mediator, but it does not create that office. That office has its ground in the fact of the creation itself, and is exercised in behalf of man as man. All men are constitutionally related to God in Christ, and without Christ they sustain no relationship to God at all. The incarnation, accordingly, is a fact which directly affects the life and being of every man. Christ has "tasted death for every one" (Heb. 2: 9). "He is the head of every man" (1 Cor. 11: 3). This last passage should, perhaps, not be pressed, as the apostle is here speaking of man in distinction from woman; but when the same apostle declares that God "gave Him to be head over all things to the Church, which is His body," this implies that, while He is, indeed, more to the Church than to men outside of the Church, He yet in some sense at least stands to all things in the relation of headship. And this idea of universal headship is distinctly implied in the designation of Him as the Last Adam.

But has not this constitutional relation of humanity to the eternal Christ been dissolved by the occurrence of sin? This is affirmed by many. The fall, it is said, involved a total separation of man from God; and the immediate consequence of this separation was spiritual death, which is now the natural condition of all men, involving absolute and total disability in spiritual things. However it may have been before the fall, after this event at least men are not essentially related to Christ at all. The old race of Adam is totally depraved. The individuals of this race possess no longer any moral and relig-

ious ability whatever ; nor are they in any sense objects of the divine love. They are not children of God, but children of the devil, and children of wrath. The statement of Christ concerning those malignant Jews who sought to kill Him, "Ye are of a father who is the devil" (John 8: 44), which in its original connection was meant merely to be a contradiction of their claim to be children of Abraham, is applied to all men as they are by nature, and is supposed to mean that there is in men, as thus considered, no longer any root or trace of divinity. And so also Paul's strong Hebraism, "by nature children of wrath" (Eph. 2: 3), originally intended to designate a moral condition resulting from deliberate and persistent indulgence of the impulses of the lower sensual nature, is supposed to be a description of the condition of every human individual previous to all moral development. The race of men, according to this view, the Adamic race, is totally sundered from God, totally depraved, totally dead in sin, the object of divine wrath, and under sentence of eternal damnation. With this race the Christ is supposed to be in no contact at all. The designation of Christ as the Last Adam, or the Second Man, is simply supposed to mean that He is the originator of a new race, as the first Adam was the originator of the sinful race ; there being only this difference, that the members of the new race are none other than the members of the old race, re-born, re-created, and made new. With these latter only Christ stands in vital relation, for these only He has made atonement ; and beyond the circle of these He exercises no saving influence or power.

This view, though under the mighty influence of Augustine it was long ago regarded as the only orthodox view, is now happily left behind by the more advanced Christological theology of to-day. It is the special merit of this theology that it makes Christ central not merely in Christian thinking, but also in the actual constitution of humanity. It is bound, therefore, to affirm that men's essential relation to the Christ is original, constitutional and permanent. This relation could be disturbed and obscured by the entrance of sin ; but it could not be anni-

hilated without annihilating man himself. The fact of sin as a morally perverting force in human nature must, indeed, be admitted by all. This fact is too manifest to be denied. It is a matter of daily experience. Before the infant soul has attained to self-consciousness, before the personal will has been formed, there are evidences of a perverse moral tendency. This tendency must, accordingly, be hereditary in human nature, and must be propagated by generation. And in consequence of this tendency no man, except the Man Christ Jesus, has ever been free from actual sin. "There is none righteous, not one, there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh out God, they have all turned aside, they have together become unprofitable." Rom. 3: 10.

But there is a limit to the extent and action of this perverse moral tendency. There are in human nature counter-tendencies, serving as a check to the evil, and manifesting the presence of an incorruptible moral power. And so the same Apostle who adopts the language just quoted concerning the depravity of human nature, also writes that "when the Gentiles, who have no (written) law, do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves; in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them" (Rom. 2: 14, 15). There is in the human soul the law of reason and the office of conscience, which serve as a check to the unlimited extension and prevalence of evil. There is a sense of God in all men, which gives rise to religious ideas and exercises. And there are, therefore, in heathen religions and in heathen morality true divine elements, which serve to prevent the unbounded prevalence of evil and the total corruption of human nature.

But this law in human nature, "which makes for righteousness"—what is it, and whence is it? It is the light of the eternal Christ shining in the darkness; and shining in spite of the tendency of that darkness to suppress it. And this light of the Christ lighteth every man that cometh into the world, not

only in Judea, but also in Greece and Rome, in India and China; shining, indeed, with various degrees of brightness according to the purity or impurity of the surrounding medium, but giving everywhere essentially the same color. It is the Christ immanent in human nature, or it is the essential vital relation of the soul to Christ, that preserves men everywhere from sinking into utter and total moral ruin, keeping alive, in some measure at least, the law of the reason, the power of the conscience, and the freedom of the will, which form a part of the divine constitution of humanity. Pelagius, therefore, was right when he asserted that there is in man some real moral ability, some ability for good; but he was wrong in supposing that this moral ability resides in human nature considered apart from its constitutional relation to God in Christ. Pelagius regarded the natural man as standing in no real relation of grace to Christ. He did not realize the truth that man is created and has his being in Christ, and that this is an indissoluble relationship, at least so long as man remains man. In this respect Pelagius was in error. But this error has prevailed in Augustinianism, and Calvinism and Lutheranism no less than in Pelagianism. For here, too, humanity, instead of being regarded as constitutionally in Christ, and as being consequently pervaded by gracious forces preserving it from total ruin, is regarded as a mere *massa perditionis*, from which individuals only are rescued by the exercise of an omnipotent power brought to bear upon them in an outward way through the means of grace.

The doctrine of a limited atonement is the most natural outcome of this Christless conception of humanity. If humanity be a mere mass of perdition, every member of which is under sentence of damnation until he is brought, either by baptism or conversion, into a state of grace, then it would be a contradiction to say that the atonement involves mankind universally in its design and scope. In that case the atonement is only for those who are going to be saved; and these are most naturally regarded as "a definite number particularly designed" from the

beginning; although the case would not be essentially changed by supposing the number to be indefinite, and their participation in the benefits of the atonement to be dependent upon their own choice. But we should then be confronted with the difficulty of explaining this choice; for how the members or parts of a mass of perdition, wholly dead in a moral and spiritual regard, should of themselves be able to make any good choice, is a thing totally inexplicable. If, conversely, we understand the atonement to be, not a mere legal fiction, but an actual eternal redemption wrought in humanity, and if we consider this redemption to be not limited to an elect number, but to be universal, then we must allow every man to be in some sense at least in a state of grace. And then we can understand also that "where sin abounded, grace did abound more exceedingly: that, as sin reigned in death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. 5: 20, 21). That means, as we take it, that, while humanity is in a state of sin and death, it is also at the same time in a state of grace and life; while through the first Adam it is a fallen race, it is through the Second Adam a redeemed race. It is a redeemed race; it is not merely a race waiting to be redeemed, or going to be redeemed. The redemption, formally accomplished in time, is in fact an *eternal* redemption, *αἰωνία λύτρωσις* (Heb. 9: 12). Christ is the author of *eternal* salvation, *αἰτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου* (Heb. 5: 9); and the covenant established in His blood is an *eternal* covenant, *διαθήκη αἰώνιος* (Heb. 13: 20). The predicate *eternal* in these passages indicates that the subjects to which it belongs are essentially free from the limitations of time.* And in accordance with this conception St. John describes Christ, the author of the

* We suppose the word *αἰώνιος* here to be used for the idea of *eternal* in the strict philosophical sense. But we are far from regarding this as the exclusive sense of the word in the New Testament. And we would add that we know of nothing more mischievous in Biblical exegesis than the habit of forcing the meaning which a word may have in one passage upon the same word in all, without regard to author or context.

book of life, as a Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου (Rev. 13: 8).

It appears, then, that those theologians have not been mistaken, who, like Clement of Alexandria and Origen, in ancient, and Erskine, Robertson, and Maurice, in modern times, have emphasized the idea of an indissoluble essential relation of all men to God in Christ—a relation, obscured indeed, but not broken by sin, and involving in itself the possibility and principle of salvation from sin. Man as man is the child of God—a fallen, sinful, erring child, indeed, but still a child—and this relationship holds in and through the eternal Christ. The eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the organic Head of humanity, is in Christ and for Christ's sake the God and Father of all men. And this is a relationship that can never be wholly forgotten by men themselves. Even in the darkest night of heathenism men have a feeling of their noble origin and relationship. They can never wholly forget that they have a divine Father who loves them and cares for them. Long before the time of St. Paul, two Greek poets, Aratus and Cleanthes, gave expression to the thought that all men are a divine offspring, or race (γένος). But it must never be forgotten that this divine relationship of men has its absolute ground in the eternal mediation of the Man Christ Jesus. If there were no Christ, then man would not be the child of God; and what is more, there would then be no *man* at all, for man is made through Christ, in Christ, and for Christ. And in Christ man is essentially and constitutionally a child of God; and the attainment of full salvation, or of the blessedness that belongs to the children of God, is but the personal, subjective realization of this universal, objective relationship. The difference between the actual believing Christian and one who is not a Christian consists in this, that the former has realized in his self-conscious life and being the objective possibilities involved in his constitutional relation to God in Christ, or in his eternal election in Christ; while the latter has failed thus to realize his divine destiny, which failure of itself involves the torment of hell.

But this realization of the possibilities involved in the divine constitution of a human being is not a spontaneous or natural, but a moral and spiritual process. And in this respect it is true, as Tertullian said, that a Christian is not born, but made. But in order to become Christian it is necessary that the soul should come into a direct moral or personal relation to Christ; and in order to this it is required that the Christ be presented outwardly by means of the Gospel, and inwardly through the Spirit. The testimony of the mediatorial life and activity of Christ must be borne to the soul in due time; but in order to a direct personal union, such as is implied in the process of salvation, Christ Himself in His mediatorial character must come to be immediately present to the soul in a spiritual form. In other words, Christ's essential mediation must become a mediation in the Spirit, and the essential relation between Him and the soul must be transformed into a spiritual relation. This corresponds with the New Testament teaching concerning the office and work of the Holy Spirit.* According to this teaching the Holy Spirit is the medium through which the saving, life-giving energy of Christ is brought to bear upon the spirit of man, in order to the subjective realization of the objective redemption of humanity in Christ.

The Spirit, according to the teaching of the Christian Scriptures, is the principle of self-consciousness, in God as well as in man,—the principle of actual personality. As the spirit which is in man knows the things of the man, τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, so the Spirit of God knows the things of God, τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (1 Cor. 2: 11). Spirit in general may accordingly be defined as

* According to Origen all creatures participate in God the Father, from whose operation they receive their being and life; all men participate in God the Son, from whose operation, as that of the eternal Word, they receive their reason and will which constitutes their essence as moral and responsible beings; but only the saints participate in the Holy Spirit, through whose operation their essential moral constitution is developed into actual moral being. This view may be accepted provided we add that all these operations must be supposed to proceed through the center of all divine activities in relation to the world which is the Divine Logos. See Origen *De Principiis* I. III.

the identity of subject and object, or of thought and existence. By virtue of its spiritual nature the human soul apprehends its own determinations and states; it has apperceptions of itself, and in these apperceptions it is revealed to itself. So God is revealed to Himself in the Spirit. In the Spirit the divine being, or essence, is transparent to itself. In the Logos the divine essence objectifies, images and expresses itself; in the Spirit the same essence apperceives itself, looks through itself in that objective image, and thus knows itself. The Spirit, accordingly, is the absolute identity of subject and object in God. And these three factors in the eternal essence of God—subject, object, and identity of both—are three distinct subsistences (*subsistentiæ*, ὑποστάσεις), which in theology have been called persons,—Father, Son and Holy Spirit.*

* The doctrine of the Divine Trinity was foreshadowed in the later literature of the Jews. The conceptions of the Divine Wisdom (σοφία, also called λόγος) and of the Divine Spirit (πνεῦμα) were anticipations of the New Testament ideas of the Eternal Son and of the Holy Spirit. The description of the *Sophia* in the *Wisdom of Solomon* is especially interesting. She was present with God when He made the world, being the assessor (πατέδρος) of His throne (9: 4), and the contriver (τεχνίτις) of all things. She is a pure effluence (ἀπόρροια) from the glory of the Almighty, the brightness (ἀπαύγασμα) of eternal light, the unpotted mirror (έσόπτρον) of God's energy, and the image (εἰκων) of His goodness. She gives to men immortality; and this consists in being related to her (8: 13, 17). While she is herself spirit, and while there is an intelligent, holy and only-begotten spirit within her (7: 22), she is yet distinct from the Holy Spirit; for in 9: 17 a πνεῦμα ἅγιον is mentioned beside the σοφία. These conceptions did not originally denote distinct hypostases. They were only intended as personifications. The conception of the Divine Wisdom probably meant no more than the idea of the divine goodness, intelligence and power, expressed in the natural and moral creation, and constituting the law of moral action for intelligent creatures, obedience to which forms an indispensable condition of happiness. What is wanted to make this conception equal to St. John's conception of the Logos is to suppose the attributes represented to be contained in a self-conscious centre or self, distinct from one or more similar centres in the divine Being. This may be a difficult thought to conceive; but, on the other hand, the thought of God as an abstract unit is difficult too. God must be conceived as an infinitude of living forces in eternal circulation from one centre or point in His being to another; which, however, must not be understood in a *local* sense. The number of these points must be at least three; for if there were

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The Spirit, however, is the revealer of God, not only in God Himself, but also to all other selves outside of God. But in this revealing activity the Spirit acts not independently or separately from the other subsistences in the Godhead, but in union with them. For these subsistences are not three Gods, but three determinations or modes of one divine being. The Spirit, moreover, can only subjectively reveal God, that is to say, bring God into the consciousness of the finite spirit, in as far as there has been an objective expression of God through the Divine Word. And as this objective expression, or manifestation of God, came to its completion only through the glorification of Christ, it follows that there could be no complete revelation of God and no full performance of the functions of the Spirit in our human world previous to that glorification. St. John, therefore, goes so far, on a certain occasion, as to say that "there was as yet no Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified" (John 7: 39). The complete activity of the Holy Spirit became possible only after the ethical completion of the person of Christ, or after the complete historical expression of the divine being and character in human nature. The Spirit, therefore, could only come after Christ was glorified. "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I go, I will send him unto you."

But, as we have already seen, the historical coming of Christ was not an event that had no connection with the eternal nature of the Deity, or with the previous constitution of humanity. Essentially the manhood of Christ is eternal; and this eternal manhood of Christ is the archetype and root of the essential constitution of humanity. Hence it is that man is the image of God. There was, therefore, in humanity from

here, the divine Being would not be a closed being; and if there were more, some would be mere repetitions of others. These points may be called persons, not in the sense of individuality, but in the sense of being self-conscious centres of life in the divine Being, each positing and being posited by the rest. And in this sense the Logos and the Pneuma are as much persons as is the Father.

the beginning an essential expression of the Eternal Word; and in so far there was the possibility also of a revealing, completing, perfecting activity of the Holy Spirit among men. We, accordingly, find traces of such an activity of the Spirit everywhere in the Old Testament; although there is in the Old Testament, of course, no recognition of the personality of the Spirit any more than of that of the Divine Word. This activity is represented as taking place both in nature and in history, especially the history of the chosen people. In the natural creation the Spirit is regarded as the principle of *entelechy*, that by which the possibilities or germs of being are brought into the condition of actuality corresponding to their ideal conceptions. In the beginning the Spirit of God was brooding upon the face of the waters, as if to develop into actuality the seeds of existence slumbering in the earth's primordial elements. Then the same Spirit was in the prophets. "He spake by the prophets." And this inspiration had its ground and condition in the essential Christ-idea in humanity;—for if Christ had not been coming in humanity, there could have been no inspiration,—and its end and result it had in the historical manifestation of the Christ. Essentially and potentially Christ was in humanity from the beginning, and the formal actualization of the Christ in history, like the formal actualization of life-germs in nature, came to pass through the agency of the Holy Spirit.* Christ was conceived by the Holy Spirit; He was filled with the Spirit; He offered Himself in the eternal Spirit; and having been put to death, He was quickened in the Spirit.

* In this sense we hold the doctrine of evolution. The world is not the product of an instantaneous act of creation, but of a long process of development and growth. This applies to the mental and moral, as well as to the material world. Christianity, too, is a product of evolution. But the process of evolution, which obeys one law throughout the universe, has its principle in the triune God. It has its origin in the love and power of the Father, its ideal determinations in the wisdom of the immanent Divine Word, and its tendency to perfection in the energy of the omnipresent Spirit. It is, therefore, not a blind, irrational process, but one that is illuminated throughout by the ideas and ends of Reason.

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And, now, the moral realization of the Christ in the individual human soul, that is to say, the appropriation of His character by means of personal union with Him, is brought to pass likewise through the agency of the Holy Spirit. According to a fundamental law of the divine being and manifestation, we come to know Christ only through the Holy Spirit. "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit." 1 Cor. 2: 3. "The Spirit glorifies Christ by making Him manifest in the consciousness of the believer. "He shall take of mine, and declare it unto you." And this manifestation of the things of Christ is at once a manifestation of the entire Godhead with all its riches and gifts. "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine: therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you." And such knowledge of God in Christ, according to Christ's own declaration, is the essence of eternal life, or salvation. "This is eternal life, that they should know thee the only true God, and Him whom thou didst send, Jesus Christ," John 17: 3. We should not be surprised at this connection of eternal life with the knowledge of God: for such knowledge implies not only constitutional kinship with God, but also moral likeness. Only they who are good can know the good, and only they who are morally like God can know God. Salvation, then, means essentially the realization of moral likeness to God, or the actualization of the divine image in the human soul.

In order to salvation it is not enough, therefore, that men are essentially or constitutionally related to Christ—that their relation and moral nature has in Him its indestructible root. They must come to be spiritually related to Him. They must come to know Him—what implies personal communion and moral assimilation. That which is involved in the form of relationship to the Father as their being must be actualized in their communion with Him. Without this active condition would be a mere passive relation, their reception being a dead gift, and such a gift can never become a living gift. It is the work of the Holy Spirit to bring about this active condition of the soul, by the actualization of the divine image in the human soul.

origin; so a human soul would not be saved merely in consequence of its divine origin and relationship. In order to this it must know Christ—it must know and feel itself in conscious personal relation to Him. The prodigal must “come to himself,” and in his inmost self realize the relation of sonship which is his, before the fact that in his father’s house there is bread can do him any good. And so the sinner must realize in himself, in his knowledge and will, the fact of his constitutional divine relationship, in order that this may be for him the blessing which it is designed to be. And this realization is not a spontaneous, but a moral process—a process accomplished through the reason, and feeling, and will of the subject—conditioned by the outward ministration of the Gospel—the testimony of Christ—and the inward ministration or operation of the Spirit, which imparts to the truth of the Gospel its self-authenticating, its convincing, and vitalizing energy.* There is, doubtless, a gracious activity of the Spirit exerted in humanity everywhere. The constitutional relation of men to God in Christ offers a natural basis for such an activity. But that this is not sufficient for salvation is evident both from Scripture and from the moral character everywhere presented by the heathen world. According to St. Peter (Acts 4: 12) the *name* of Christ, that is, the historical revelation of Christ, is the indispensable condition of salvation. And the actual life of the heathen world, while it presents true moral and spiritual

*Formerly much stress was laid upon the testimony of the Holy Spirit as authenticating the truth of the Gospel. This idea has largely become obsolete to the modern mind. It is worthy, however, of being restored. But in order to this there is needed a new interpretation of it. Essentially the testimony of the Holy Spirit means nothing more than the self-authenticating power of divine truth. Divine truth is not an abstraction—a thing separated from the divine mind. Divine truth is the product of the divine thinking, or more accurately, it is the divine thinking itself—the very exercise of the divine mind. Hence to come in contact with divine truth is to come into immediate contact with the divine mind or Spirit itself; and this is what gives that truth its convincing, its living and quickening power; although this power can only be felt by a mind that is in essential and moral harmony with the divine.

elements—the light shining in the darkness—is yet no where really spiritual or Christian, but carnal and sinful.

We conclude, therefore, that they are in error who hold that the presence of the essential Christ in human nature and the universal activity of the Holy Spirit are sufficient for salvation, even without the testimony of the Gospel. This position is sometimes assumed in order to justify the theory of the universal decisiveness of the present life in relation to the eternal destiny of men. That the whole heathen world should be eternally damned, is a thought that does not harmonize with modern conceptions of the character of God. The view is, therefore, gaining ground that many heathen will probably be saved. But if the possibility of salvation is to be restricted to the present life, then this salvation must be accomplished either wholly without Christ, according to the Pelagian doctrine, or in consequence of the universal immanence of Christ and of the Holy Spirit in humanity. The latter view is accepted by many. This we do not believe to be warranted either by Christian reason or experience. If the simple fact of the universal immanence of Christ in humanity, as the cause of the light shining in the reason and conscience, were sufficient for the salvation of individuals now, then it would seem that it should have been sufficient also for the same purpose previous to the actual occurrence of the incarnation. Yet we know, if we are to believe the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that even the most faithful in Israel were not made perfect in respect of their salvation during the time of the Old Testament dispensation. See Heb. 11: 40. And as for the universal agency of the Holy Spirit, this, while it must be admitted to have place, and to be of moral efficacy and value, can yet not be supposed to avail more in the heathen world now, than it availed in the Jewish world previous to the glorification of Christ, when, according to St. John, there was as yet no Spirit. If, then, we make earnest of the idea of the universality of the Christian atonement, and of the universal immanence of Christ in humanity, involving the divine destination of all men to salvation ; and if,

further, we hold that the universal immanence of Christ, and the universal immanence of the Holy Spirit connected therewith, are not efficient for the actual salvation of the individual; then we are bound to assume that the possibility of the actualization of salvation must reach beyond the limits of the present life, and that there must be presented to all men, before their destiny can be forever fixed, an opportunity of making a positive personal decision with reference to Christ, similar to that which is in this life presented by the Church through the Gospel.

The Church is the sphere in which Christ in the Spirit now exercises His mediatorial office among men for their salvation. The essential mediatorial relation in which He stands to all men, makes way for and completes itself in a mediation through the Spirit, through which He comes to stand to men in a direct personal relation as an object of faith and love. And this latter form of mediation is exercised through the instrumentality of the Gospel; which makes the process of salvation distinctly a *moral* process, answering to man's moral nature. It is just this that makes man a moral being, in distinction from all merely natural existences, that, though essentially rooted in the creative Being of God, and deriving from this the law of his life and conduct, yet this law does not in him carry itself out spontaneously, as it does, for example, in the plant or crystal; but that, while immanent in his essential spiritual constitution, it presents itself nevertheless in an outward objective form to his understanding and will as an object of free choice. And the concrete embodiment of this law is the Christ of the Gospel; who being presented to the soul through the agency of the Spirit, as an immediate object of consciousness, and accepted by it in faith and love as the personal norm of moral action, becomes for it the efficient principle or cause of the development of a true spiritual personality answerable to its divine conception. And this spiritual contact with Christ, as the condition and beginning of the formation of a spiritual or God-like character, is the regeneration or new birth of the soul. Regeneration does not consist in the infusion of a new or foreign essence into the soul

by any natural or magical process, but in the spiritual quickening of the soul under a stimulus exerted by the Holy Spirit and freely responded to by the soul itself. By an impact of the Spirit of Christ upon the soul, at the essential centre of its being, back of all consciousness, it is quickened into that spiritual life which its original constitution in Christ properly implies and demands. It is only this touch of the Spirit of Christ that brings out the soul's true nature, and without this it can, therefore, never be truly itself. In developing a Christian personality it unfolds itself according to its original idea and constitution in Christ. The Christian personality is a personality which, agreeably to the soul's original idea and design, has become morally one with the person of Christ, having by faith and love appropriated His mind and character, and thus having become a fitting subject for the reception and manifestation of the love of God, which is the end of the creation.

But here we must bring this study to a close ; for more than a *study* this essay does not claim to be. It has been our aim to answer, to our own satisfaction at least, some of the fundamental questions which the age is asking concerning Christ and Christianity ; and it is hoped that the answer may be of some interest also to others. The mind of this age cannot be satisfied by mere outward authority in religion any more than in science. Thoughts that are not really thinkable, propositions that violate the essential laws of logic, will no longer be generally accepted, no matter by what supposed infallible authority they may be commended. And as all questions concerning Christianity reduce themselves at last to the question, what think ye of Christ, a satisfactory answer to that question will always be a sufficient apology for Christianity. Is the thought of Christ, as given in the Christian creed, thinkable ? Can the fundamental conceptions of Christianity justify themselves to the fundamental laws of thought ? That the " plan of salvation " as formulated in many a past system of theology cannot thus justify itself, we are firmly convinced. But can the facts of the Gospel and the facts of the creed be so interpreted as to demonstrate their correspond-

ence with the laws of reason? Can Christianity thus be shown to satisfy not only men's feeling and conscience, but also their reason? This we firmly believe. And to this end nothing more is required than to demonstrate the correspondence of the Christ-idea itself with the necessary laws and postulates of the reason. That is the chief problem now before the theological mind; and without the solution of that problem, all disputes on minor questions, such as the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture, would be utterly in vain. The problem is not to demonstrate the existence and character of Christ by any mere logical process based either upon reason or Scripture. To the Christian consciousness Christ authenticates Himself, and the Christian mind requires no further proof of His being and power. But the problem is to demonstrate the self-consistency of the idea of Christ in the light of the universal laws of reason; or in other words, to think through the thought of Christ, and so to demonstrate its conformity with the demands of reason. And towards the solution of that problem this paper is intended to offer a few thoughts. We do not flatter ourselves that we have solved the problem to the satisfaction of all. It is a problem on which eighteen centuries have labored; and the last word has not been spoken yet. The fact that men have thought and spoken on this subject in the past, implies that men have the right to think and speak on it still. If only this be done with more humility and charity than have at times characterized debates on this subject in the past, we may be sure that the truth will be promoted.

IV.

THE PLACE OF THE COLLEGE IN HIGHER EDUCATION.*

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THERE is a certain amount of education to which every human being is entitled. Every child of the race has a right to ask of its elders to be put in possession of the tools of knowledge, and to be given sufficient education to enable it to use its God-given powers with fair intelligence. The policy of this grade of educational work should be, the widest diffusion and to all the same opportunities.

Beyond this elementary training, which may be looked upon as every man's birthright, there are higher fields of knowledge, to which the human mind is irresistibly drawn, whose mastery yields the rich fruitage of liberal culture. To this grade of educational work the name of higher is applied.

The social condition of the world being such that the majority of men must devote their energies chiefly to bread-winning, and that from an early period in life, the field of higher education is entered only by limited numbers. The proportion of young men engaged in study in the colleges of the United States does not exceed fifty-one in every 100,000 of population. Higher education is, therefore, restricted in its operations, and must bring its share of blessings to the world by its

* Substance of address at educational meeting held by Eastern Synod on the evening of October 20, 1892, during its annual sessions in St. Paul's Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa.

altitude rather than by its latitude. Its true policy is, the highest development rather than the widest diffusion.

Now, what is the place of the college in this field of higher education? Its separate existence can be justified only by the definiteness and distinctiveness of its work and mission. On the one side of it stand the secondary schools, the high school and the academy. On the other, the professional schools and the university. What is the college idea, in distinction from the aims, and purposes and methods of these other schools?

One man says: "A college is an upper preparatory school, intended to fit for the professions, or for special advanced studies. In case its graduate declines a profession, he is nevertheless fitted for a more intelligent, enjoyable life in business, or in the management of affairs."

Another defines the college as intended to give "a thorough disciplinary education of the highest grade;" whilst the object of the university is "the training of specialists in the several departments of learning, and the extension of the bounds of human knowledge."

Another says: "The college does the work between public and private schools of good grade, on the one side, and the universities on the other, serving as a connecting link between the two."

And still another, who claims that "the business of education is in effect one," whether carried forward in the primary or secondary school, in the college or university, says: "Speaking succinctly, the constituents of a sound education are, first, character; second, culture; third, critical power, including accuracy and also sympathy with all the various ages, nationalities and moods of men; and fourth, power to work hard under rule and under pressure."

Accepting the dictum that "the business of education is in effect one," it is patent that the college must have many features common to all educational institutions. Standing between the preparatory school and the professional school, it partakes of the character of both. There is propriety in calling it an

upper preparatory school, for it does not aim to do more than thoroughly discipline the student for professional or technical study, or for a higher use and enjoyment of life. There is abundant excuse, also, for the confusion that has existed between it and the university, because many colleges have allowed themselves to be driven into university work, and many so-called universities scarcely do creditable college work. There is, however, a differentiation going on in the educational forms of the day which gives promise of fixing the place of the college in the scale of institutions devoted to higher learning. The friends of education should keep in line with this differentiation, and by clearing up their own ideals seek to forward it.

The distinctiveness of the college idea, according to the notions of the best men engaged in the work, seems to lie in the fact that the college is an educational institution whose main business is to train and discipline the student. The student, in all the elements of his being, spiritual, intellectual and physical, is to be kept in the foreground. The process through which he is carried has its end in the man himself, in the development and perfecting of his whole being. President Andrews' statement of the constituents of a sound education as character, culture, critical power, and ability to work hard may be accepted as a summary of the results to be aimed at in collegiate education. A college is not intended to prepare men for a particular business or profession, but to develop, train and discipline them in the totality of their being. In doing this with singleness of aim, and by the use of the best methods and men, there may be expected a finished product that is a man, with the powers of mind and body bestowed upon him by nature awake, and disciplined and cultured, who will go forth to his chosen life work "rejoicing as a strong man to run a race." To attain a strong, well-rounded character; a culture that "relishes the beautiful in conduct, in art and literature, and in nature;" a critical power that is faultless in accuracy and broad in sympathy; and power to work hard, under the strictest self-mastery,—these are the lofty ideals which the col-

lege sets before its matriculates, and to the attainment of which every student should bend his noblest energies.

In the light of these general principles let us look at several of the factors which enter into the constitution of a college.

Of these factors the faculty is of first importance, because it is the intellectual head and center of the institution. From it power must radiate. The authority which stands back of the faculty in the constitution of a college discharges its functions best when it is rather formal than real. The board of trustees, or directors, or regents, or by whatever name it may be known, which is necessary to the organization of the institution, is most useful when it moves in accord with and in response to the intellectual head. The men engaged in the actual work and warfare of the college know best its needs, and can be trusted to indicate the best modes of supplying the same. When they cease to indicate, it is wiser for the board to remove them than to seek to make itself the seat of life and motion. A college is best governed from within.

In constituting a college faculty chief regard must be had to the ruling idea in collegiate training, viz., the development of the student. Therefore, the personality of the men who are to teach and administer the college must be given first consideration. They must themselves possess the qualities of mind and heart which are to be awakened in the student. Like begets like, life from life are laws that rule in the educational world as unerringly as in nature. Education is not produced by machinery, which the professor is to control and feed; nor by rote, with him to check off the pages of progress.

High personal and social character are requisite to an ideal college professor, because his range of duty is wider than that of instruction. The administration of the college, the discipline of the students, their social and spiritual culture, also belong to the faculty. It is a vicious idea that the chief qualification of a college professor is ability to teach a specialty; that the discipline is to be relegated to police officers; the business administration to special clerks; the religious interests of the student

to a chaplain; and their social culture to the stray acquaintances of the town. The larger the number of points at which the professors and students touch, and the more continuously they are kept in contact with each other, the better it will be for both. The professor's personality, his force of character, his social and intellectual culture, his enthusiasm, his kindliness of spirit, his sincerity and love of truth, each and all are educational elements of the highest value to the student, whose benefit he will receive only by personal contact with the professor, and which are operative whether it be an item of business, a case of discipline, hours in the laboratory, or a social evening that brings them together.

The smaller colleges observe these principles more fully than the larger institutions. The size of the former renders such administration more practicable, and consequently they enjoy a great advantage over their bulky competitors. But the elimination of the personal element in administration is creeping into them also. The change is encouraged by professors who do not distinguish between the college and the university, and who ease their consciences with the theory that their responsibility is limited to the class-room. It is welcomed by some trustees in the hope that the one-sided and half-developed men in the faculties can be kept in their places, by delegating the weightier and more difficult part of a college professor's duties to a special officer. But all such expedients are vain. University methods of instruction are doubtless an improvement on many of the old college methods, but university discipline does not fit the college. The university professes to do nothing but furnish a guide for the development of the student in scholarship. The college idea is that the whole life of the student is to be developed by contact with and under the influence of a cultured superior, who stands to him in the relation of companion and friend; in *loco parentis*, in the sense of supplying a parent's experience and wisdom, with the sympathy of an elder brother.

To be in trim for the discharge of his duties, the college pro-

fessor must also keep himself in contact with the practical world of politics, and religion, and social life. He is to train young people for the activities of life, and his efforts will be theoretical and pointless unless he himself knows the world into which his younger fellow-student is soon to be introduced. The professor is not to impart to the student such general knowledge of the wider world; but his fresh knowledge of it will affect his teaching, and his interest in the student. Upon this point high ground is taken by a clear-headed New England college president, who says: "A good proportion of a college faculty should be men who have gained maturity of character through experience in the great school of life; men who have studied a profession, or interested themselves in some practical social problem, or have traveled extensively, or have edited a paper, or have delivered lectures, and at the same time have kept alive their scholarly pursuits and aims. In the college professor the man must be more than the scholar."

Whilst this puts the practical qualifications of the college professor in the foreground, it is not to be presumed that his scholarship is sufficient if it is of secondary quality. In the particular subjects he teaches the professor must be master. Not only must he know them thoroughly, but he should have a wide view of the whole field of science, literature, and philosophy, that he may not be narrow in presenting his own subjects and be able to point out the relations of knowledge. With his own department he should be so familiar that he can devote his main time and strength to skillfully setting the subject before the student, in order to awaken in him an interest in it and to lead him to its mastery. Having aroused the student's interest and enthusiasm, he can lead him on to mastery, and that will develop power. By supplying the materials and opportunities and impulse to thought and study, he will set the student about the serious business of educating himself. For after all only as the human mind reaches out and lays hold upon knowledge, will it grow and become enriched. The professor stands only in the relation of interpreter and guide; but happy the

student who is privileged to travel over the highways of knowledge under the leadership and inspiration of a seer.

Because of the difficulty of finding men possessing the qualifications desirable in a college professor, there should be provision made in connection with every college to seek out and encourage the students of promise to prepare themselves for teaching. A man picked out by a skilled superior, will enter with greater confidence upon a career of preparation than one who hears only the voice of ambition, or who follows simply his own impulse. The college professor's vocation is sufficiently high to merit a call from above. Such provision should be made, not necessarily to enable a college to raise up its own professors, but in order that each college might contribute its quota to the body of men who ought at all times to be engaged in advanced work at the universities and pedagogical schools of the country, with the view of fitting themselves for college professorships.

From the faculty we turn to the courses of study in the college. These need to have the light of the broader and more liberal ideas of the day turned upon them. Educational superstition and indifference have allowed those in control of colleges to perpetuate the ill-fitting ideas of the past, or to start off into all sorts of experiments. The times demand that the principles underlying the selections of subjects of study be re-examined, and if possible a present-day adjustment adopted. Dr. Andrews keenly remarks upon this point:

"The system of collegiate education in the Eastern States of America came mostly as the kingdom of heaven comes, without observation. While it was forming no one knew, and no one can, with any exactness or certainty, tell now whence or how it originated. Its growth was spontaneous and silent, rather than the product of deliberation and discussion. But the age of still evolution in this sphere of culture is past. In common with many other institutions and phases of our civilization, collegiate education is now emerging from an automatic into a reasoned and conscious life. All friends of education

should rejoice at the change, giving thanks to those enterprising thinkers who have in recent years done so much to rouse the administrators of our highest educational institutions from their dogmatic slumbers. Movements in the interest of educational progress must be welcomed, but they must also be keenly scrutinized. Compared with automatism, which is safe because dead, consciousness is in certain ways dangerous. Yet advance to-day requires conscious action, and we must do our best to assuage whatever friction this may occasion."

The most iconoclastic reformer of the college curriculum must admit that certain subjects, which have had a place in every scheme of liberal education from time immemorial, have proved themselves well adapted to culture. These have given to the world its educated men in the past, and doubtless will be able to accomplish the same results in the future. It does not follow, however, that because of their known and tried value these alone should have a place in the college course, and that none other can be used to attain the high ends of liberal education. As the field of knowledge enlarges, human culture deepens and broadens, and makes new demands upon the instruments of its development. Modern progress has brought forward many new problems, for the solution of which new appliances are required. These demand training in new directions, and the development of powers in man not evoked by the disciplines of the past.

Men and things comprise the whole field of knowledge. Hitherto the maxim, "The proper study of mankind is man," has held sway. Language, literature, and mathematics have furnished the staples of college study. There is, however, a growing demand for other subjects. The monopoly of the classics has been attacked, and an impression has been made upon the fortress from two directions. The sciences of nature have demanded and secured for themselves a place in the college. The practical arts, more obnoxious to the classicist than science, not having been accorded a shelter in the established schools of higher education, have called into being schools of their own,

which attract thousands of students. These schools assert that "all the essentials of intellect and character" are as fully and happily achieved through their courses of study as in the classical schools. Dr. Francis A. Walker, President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, says that if he did not believe that the graduates of the institution over which he presides were better educated men in all which the term educated man implies, he would not consent to hold his position for another day.

With this demand for a more practical training, and a supply being provided outside of the classical and literary institutions, it has become a serious question as to what policy the college ought to pursue. There is danger of the culture, in the bosom of which the Protestant Reformation was cradled and which has always been tributary to religion, being superseded by a cult whose inspiration is not from above, and whose spirit is not congenial to Christianity. There are many signs at hand which seem to indicate that the age is really in need of a culture somewhat differentiated from the traditional type. And under these circumstances would it not be better for the colleges to take up the new that is of value, and sanctify it by an infusion of that which has been proved and hallowed by age, rather than be compelled finally to surrender the whole field, or at least a large part of it?

For a solution of the perplexities of the situation we cannot appeal to experience. The newer studies have not been on trial sufficiently long to warrant the assumption of their equality with, much less of their superiority to, the older. They do, however, give promise of bringing elements into liberal culture that are demanded by the spirit of the age. The great success of technological schools and of scientific departments in colleges plainly indicates that the old-style disciplines are not meeting the needs of the day. And if the colleges really believe in the superior worth of their training, they cannot be indifferent to the thousands of students who now pass them by and seek preparation for the higher walks of life in technical schools, without

any of the moulding influence of the classics and philosophy. To attract these men they must accommodate themselves to their wants. To save themselves and their leadership in higher education, they must bring back the tide which is steadily setting in another direction.

In addition to these practical reasons for looking into the propriety of a modification of the course of study in college, the principle upon which rests the demand for the admission of new subjects is worthy of consideration. The claim rests upon the natural difference of mental constitution which characterizes individuals, and upon the unity of the human mind. Because the mind is not an organism, whose members or faculties are developed by the study of specific subjects, it is not correct that languages are necessary to develop a certain part of it, mathematics another, and philosophy another; nor is it correct that at certain stages of mental development these several subjects are the only ones that will stimulate mental growth. The human mind is a unit and grows from within by the exercise of itself in the acquirement and elaboration of knowledge. It is this exercise of the mind that develops and strengthens it, and only when the subjects presented arouse its interest and enkindle enthusiasm will there be much mental activity. For mental development and discipline the first requisite is the thorough awakening and interested activity of the mind, and the subjects that have this effect upon the student are the proper ones for him to pursue.

If it were a question of the utility of the knowledge acquired certain subjects might be insisted upon as absolutely essential to proper mental build. But the college training is one of discipline chiefly, and of utility only secondarily. Therefore, give the student the subjects in which his keenest interest and greatest enthusiasm can be awakened, if you would develop his mind, strengthen his faculties, and build him up into vigorous intellectual manhood. After his mind has been awakened, and he becomes conscious of its power, the natural thirst for knowledge will lead him to the interested study of subjects to which

he was once indifferent, because he sees their utility in opening to him new fields of knowledge.

The lack of interest on the part of some students in subjects to which others are keenly alive can be accounted for only on the ground of difference in mental organization. Because of this difference the same subjects will not be as beneficial to one student as to another, and when we recognize the difference of treatment required for the development of different minds we are simply conforming our mental hygiene to the demands of nature.

There was a time when the notion prevailed that the same foods were equally adapted to all persons, at least to all children. Physiology has discovered that difference in organization necessitates difference in nutriment, even in healthy systems, and that the system itself can be trusted to indicate, by a sort of natural selection, the food that will best nourish it. Because of this diversity of physical organization, there has grown up a school of vegetarians who declare that they will eat no meat while the world stands. They toil, and grow fat, and become old. Neither their physical appearance nor their efficiency in the work of life indicate that they are inferior to the carnivorous feeders who affect to despise them.

So let it not be imagined that constitutional mental differences, which reveal themselves in aptitude for different studies, are owing to any defect in the quality or the power of the mind. They are natural, and must be recognized in educational schemes that would do the best for all who avail themselves of the help offered in organized courses of study.

The logical conclusion of all this reasoning is that the college cannot well establish a fixed curriculum; that the best it can do is to offer subjects adapted to culture from the whole field of knowledge, and allow each student to choose those best suited to the quality and temper of his mind. To guide the inexperience of youth, the order and affiliation of subjects and the amount of work ought to be prescribed, and the rest left to the free choice of the student and his adviser on the faculty.

The objection that only the larger and wealthier colleges could provide so wide a range of subjects in the college course, is offset by the fact that there are only two fundamental types of mind and corresponding lines of scholarly interest, the literary and the scientific. Any college can provide for the principal studies along these two lines, and allow predominance to the one or the other, and variation in the proportion of the two, according to the individual capacity and needs of the students.

The advantages that would accrue to liberal education from such an arrangement of studies are manifold. The student would work along the lines of his natural aptitudes, in which his keenest interest and greatest enthusiasm can be aroused, and consequently his mental development and training for the work of life would be the more easily and successfully accomplished. In college he would study along these lines for mental development. Afterward, choosing a profession in accord with the same general tendency and habit of mind, he would find his professional studies in line with his college work, and his earlier studies contributing largely to his success in the later. There would thus be a consistency and harmony in his work which would carry him far beyond the student who studies in one direction for mental discipline, and travels in another to prepare himself for active life. Not only would there be natural interest and accelerated development characterizing his whole student career, but throughout his professional life he would find interest and helpfulness in the studies which he commenced in college. Such continued interest would have a tendency to preserve his scholarly habits amid the drudgery of professional practice, thus maintaining for him not only the source of his highest pleasures, but also the surest means of personal advancement.

Another advantage that would flow from such an arrangement of college studies is, that higher education would be relieved from the odium of being merely a mental gymnastic. The acquirement of knowledge and the development of mind would bear some relation to future practical life. Collegiate education would not only develop the powers of the mind, but

would do it by the use of studies the knowledge of which a man will need in after life. Such a system would commend itself to all men as being scientific and reasonable. The age is not opposed to liberal education, but it asks that it be made more practical. Science and common sense unite in saying that it can be done, without depreciating the quality of the training or injuring the institutions established for its development.

Upon this point of adapting the work of the college to the demands of the times, the opinion of a friend of classical education may be appreciated, and is quoted here at some length :

“The problem, as it presents itself to many, is not, liberal education versus technical education. Practical education is the thing desired, and a practical education is not, necessarily technical. The distinction is easy to perceive, but more difficult to explain. ‘Practical’ stands midway between ‘liberal’ and ‘technical;’ it is a happy medium and combines the qualities of both. It may, perhaps, be best made clear by the aid of concrete examples :

“A practical knowledge of Latin implies the ability to translate Latin phrases of frequent occurrence and to interpret, off-hand, unfamiliar Latin derivatives. Not every college-bred man can meet these requirements.

“A practical acquaintance with French or German means that the possessor can converse, on ordinary topics, in the language, and can read, at sight, the works of all but the most obscure native writers. Few college graduates would undertake to do either of these things.

“A practical education in chemistry provides a man with methods for the detection of common food adulterations and poisons, and prepares him to understand sanitary reforms.

“Such being the nature of a practical education, it is evident that, to meet the conditions, the present policy of the college need not undergo extensive revision. The college is not to be transformed into a technical school, nor is the present schedule of studies to be fundamentally altered. The courses must simply be made valuable from a common-sense, every day point

of view. English must train for journalism, the pulpit, and the bar, in a distinct and thorough manner not at all allied to present methods. Chemistry must solve problems in drainage, ventilation, and water supply. Physics must abound in practical lessons in mechanics. History and political economy must fit for citizenship and politics.

“And all this can be done without prejudicing liberal education a term which has too long connotted impracticality. The college should provide an education which, while it broadens the sympathies deepens the mind and liberalizes thinking. At the same time possesses a utility value. There are no contradictions in such a project for ‘liberal’ and ‘practical’ are not mutually exclusive.

“Let the college so modify its courses that the attainments of its students are more than accomplishments, and its high position in our educational system will be maintained. It will then be better able than ever before to graduate men ‘whose knowledge enables them to grasp the principles of medicine, or law, or politics, or theology, to guide social progress and form public opinion,’ and ‘to enjoy the companionship of wise and good men of all lands and ages.’”

V.

CHRIST, THE CHIEF CORNER STONE.*

BY REV. A. J. HELLER, A. M.

Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God: and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth into an holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit. Eph. 2: 19-22.

Herein are presented to us the bold outlines of the universal Christian Church. We distinctly see the few essential parts which compose its structure and can trace the relation which they sustain to each other. The corner stone, the foundation, and the superstructure of this spiritual temple are all clearly outlined. Christ is declared to be the chief corner stone; the doctrine, preaching, and lively faith of the Apostles, it will hardly be questioned, constitute the foundation; and the saints, including the Apostles themselves, compose the superstructure.

In the figure of a building, as presented in the text, Christ is declared to be the original and perpetual ground and source of the Church. In Him alone is to be found that which is essential for gathering those who are to compose its membership, building them up in righteousness and holiness of life and uniting them into one harmonious body. As is elsewhere declared: "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God," and as He Himself prays: "that they may all be perfect in

* Sermon preached at the opening of Pittsburgh Synod Sept. 28, 1892.

one." He is accordingly the principle or source of knowledge, of power, and of unification.

Of course it will be understood that these three are not separate or independent principles, but only a threefold manifestation of the one principle, comprehending the revelation of God, namely, Christ Jesus.

If we briefly consider the manner in which the congregation to which this epistle was originally addressed was founded and cherished, we can perhaps acquire a nearly correct idea of what the Apostle means by the expression "founded on the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner stone."

By the direction and quickening influence of the Holy Ghost, the apostles went forth, in compliance with the terms of their high commission, to preach the Gospel to every creature. To do this they utilized the knowledge and personal experience which they had acquired by direct contact with the Saviour. They proclaimed Jesus Christ and Him crucified, yea, rather risen and ascended to the right hand of the Father, as the Lord of life, and the hope of the world. They announced repentance and faith as the personal qualifications, and demanded the observance of the divinely ordained institutions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper as the means, by which men could come into saving relation with Christ and continue in His fellowship. He who responded to this proclamation was said to have been born again. This knowledge which awakened a sense of sin and need, which pointed the way and caused men to surrender themselves unreservedly to Christ was the dawning of a new life within them. It was the day spring from on high entering their souls and dispelling the spiritual darkness which had so long reigned there.

Every one feels that when men speak from the depths of their own wisdom concerning the supreme issues of life they are at best only conjecturing, or speculating. The preaching of the apostles was a heralding of the objective fact that God had unveiled Himself, had become manifest in the flesh, and that

men were indeed His offspring, whom He had come to bless. It was not a teaching of human maxims and precepts, of formulated rules for the regulation of life, which would in the end throw men back again upon their own mental and moral resources. It was in a very real sense the presentation of Christ Himself; a pointing Him out like that of John the Baptist: "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world."

The next step in the process of building up those who had become fellow-members of the saints and of the household of God, was to instruct them in regard to the privileges and obligations of the Christian life, so that, in the midst of the political, social and moral conditions surrounding them, they might rightly exemplify the life of their divine Master and further the work of evangelizing the world. Christ Jesus was ever held up to their view as the mark of the prize after which they were to strive in the formation and building up of their own characters and in the shaping of their actions towards a hostile world.

There were many practical questions which pressed themselves upon the Apostles and their congregations for solution, such as the manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper and of administering the sacrament of holy Baptism, the form of church government and the multiplication of ministerial offices; for neither in the Gospels nor in the Epistles do we find that Christ gave any formal deliverance upon any of these or similar questions. They were left to the disciples to be disposed of when the time and occasion should arise. But they were fully equipped for this part of their great work. When the Saviour was about to leave them, He gave them repeated assurances of His continued presence with them to the end of time, and He also assured them that His presence should be mediated by the Holy Ghost who would *guide* them into all truth. It is this vital conjunction with God, significantly as briefly expressed in the words of the Saviour, "I in you and you in me," which lifts man up and constantly renews him, so that every soul power is

quickered and energized by the divine nature. The Holy Ghost, however, adds no new faculty to man; He reveals no new fundamental fact or institution, no other universal, all-comprehending principle, for there can be but one such. The Holy Ghost does not overpower or suspend the independent action of man's intellectual faculties so as to make him a mere passive instrument in His hands. In that case the revelation would not be historical and could not affect man in any way. Only that which enters into his life in the way of actual experience can benefit him. Man's knowledge develops in the contemplation, adaptation and application of divine truth. On the basis of what is given in the way of objective fact or principle, the mind must be allowed to follow its own processes in the development and acquisition of knowledge, so that what it has to communicate is first its own peculiar possession. The great advances made in science and the mechanic arts have been accomplished by the careful study and application of the laws governing the material elements and the various orders of life which have existed from the foundation of the world. And every new advance has been a revelation of the powers of the human intellect and of the resources of nature, and, above and beyond these, also of Him who is the author of both, is imminent in both—according to the measure of each—and works in and through them. This faintly illustrates what we mean by saying, that man is influenced by the indwelling of Christ, but that he is free to think and free to act; that it is by painful thought that he comes more and more into the light, and that the problems which constantly, through the ever changing conditions of social and intellectual life, arise and confront him, are solved.

This leaves room for progress in revelation, or the gradual unfolding of the truth presented once for all in the incarnate Son of God; which is the same as to say, for development of doctrine and Christian character. We observe such progress already in the time of the Apostles. The celebration of the holy communion is no longer allowed in connection with the

eating of a full meal. The Apostles themselves give unmistakable evidence of growth in knowledge and strength. In the forms and order of worship, church government, eleemosynary institutions, and in a thousand other ways the truth is wisely adapted to individual, political, and social relations. It accounts, too, for the gradual development of doctrines, the displacement and supersedure of ancient by modern views, for differences of modes of worship and administration in different ages and amongst widely separated peoples. The people of every age and every nation are called upon to solve for themselves the problem of their own salvation, by adapting the Gospel to their own needs. If every detail had been given ready to hand at the beginning, there would have been an end of thought, and of course also an end of life in the proper sense of that word. Then the New Testament would have been a book, or repository, of charts, of drawings and specifications, of dogmas and precepts, a sort of religious dispensatory instead of a book of life.

This is, of course, very different from the view of those who regard the Bible as the only and ultimate source of wisdom. As if God had somehow written it or secured its production without the conscious, appreciative activity of man! Of course, we do not mean to say that the Bible is not from God, but, on the contrary, we mean to affirm that it is in a far more important sense His word, than it is practically admitted to be by those who betimes laud it very highly, only to use it for bolstering pet theories of reform or to support certain methods of administration as tests of Christian faith and fellowship.

There is a sense in which the Bible goes before Christ. It preserves for the world the knowledge of Him and heralds His presence; it pictures His character and life, but men thus directed to Him come to understand Him more fully and to know Him better afterwards in their own religious consciousness and personal experience. The Bible reveals Him who is the source of its own existence, or rather Christ manifests Himself in and through the word, and it must therefore itself be inter-

preted in the light of His character and life. This calls for the exercise of discrimination and judgment, as well as for true devotion, on the part of man. If Christ is the type of man, man is akin to God, and the mode of thought and reasoning are the same in both. If there are contradictions in the sacred Scriptures, as some affirm, these must be dealt with, adjusted, or resolved in such a way as to accord with the character and life of their Author. And men's hearts do generally, in spite of their theories, follow the word to its source in Christ as readily and naturally as their eyes follow the rays of light to their source in the sun; and they receive a ready and fitting answer to their desires and needs. It is only when they make some doctrine, mode of worship, form of government, or mode of administration central, instead of Christ, that they turn the Bible into a treasury of ready made theories and plans.

Knowledge is not partative. It is not a commodity, which can be in part or in whole separated from its possessor. The teacher simply reveals the thoughts, states, and intents of his mind, by which he elicits like thoughts, states, and purposes in the mind of the reader or hearer. The Bible does not teach; it is Christ that teaches, the Apostles teach, the Church teaches. But Christ is the chief Teacher, for He is the truth also, the ultimate source of all knowledge. He teaches by and through the Word and the Church. The chief point then is to keep Christ always in view, to trust Him with implicit faith, to follow whithersoever He leads in thought and life, and then we shall not fail to know and to understand His word so as to be able to apply it. Then will the Bible be a more real word of God to us than it can possibly be on the basis of a shallow bibliolatry.

Whilst the advanced thought of the day may be disposed to go to extremes in its efforts to fix the relative value and position of the Bible in the Christian system, the close observer of its trend perceives an advance towards the position which makes it, together with the consensus of the Church Catholic, the foundation upon which believers are built, Christ Jesus being the source and inspiration of both. The opposing lines along which the conflict of opinion have been moving are no longer running

parallel; they are approaching each other, and we believe the result will be a truer estimate of God's Word, and a more exalted view of Christ as the principle and source of knowledge.

But it is to be observed, in the second place, that, whilst knowledge is of great importance, an abstract word cannot save. It has been observed by one who has made the subject a profound study that, "the theory which assumes that religion consists chiefly, if not exclusively, in knowledge, and that advance in religion consists in the enlargement of our religious conceptions, has proved itself a vicious one." That knowledge is necessary and that the fact of a revelation in Christ is and always must be communicated in the form of language to arrest the mind and awaken attention and thought is true, but along with the knowledge communicated must go the power of a living person in order to make the proclamation a living word. In fact every word of communication must possess real contents, otherwise it is a mere empty sound without meaning or force. To say that Christ is made unto us "wisdom and righteousness" is to reveal a fact and to point to Him as its realization. The Apostles did not proclaim an empty word; it was a word of power to which their lives bore testimony.

But whence the power? Whence this moral force by which men change the whole current of their lives and apply all their energies to benefit the race? Whence the power that subdues wild passions, foregoes earthly pleasures and comforts to go into the wilderness and amongst heathen people, there to lay deep and broad the foundations of Christian life, of Christian learning and of Christian charity; that revolutionizes the thought and practices of ages, purifies the hearts of men, exalts woman, sanctifies the family, and in ten thousand ways, in spite of the opposition of hostile men, without violence or demonstration, subdues the human heart and makes it obedient to its will? Whence this great force whose mighty influence has, wherever it has gone, impressed itself even on the face of nature? We answer, it has its source in Christ Jesus our Lord. It is His work; His power acting upon, in and through man. This

wonderful work is not accomplished by an abstract word spoken to man, but by Christ's own peculiar and special indwelling presence with him. If, at the beginning, God created man, and if He continues to uphold him by the word of His power, so that not only his physical, but his mental forces are dependent upon Him for their being and activity, what, we may ask, is to prevent the same eternal God from renewing and re-energizing the soul powers of man by entering into special and permanent communion with him through the incarnation of His Son Jesus Christ. The conquests which the Church and men have made have not been achieved by human strength. For what purpose is it declared that Christ dwells with men, if it is not to exercise power and influence over them, to quicken their minds, to energize their wills, and thus aid them in the struggle of life? The victories which have been won over the world and the devil by individuals and the Church are due to His presence and power. He calms the raging tempest, rebukes the evil spirits; He arms His people for the conflicts of life and the building up of character; He gives peace and security.

Of course we do not mean to say that Christ, in any material or partitive sense, imparts Himself, or any portion of Himself, to His people. We may, perhaps, illustrate our meaning by calling attention to that subtle electric influence which one man exerts over another. The wise and good, for instance, by their consistent words and actions, always impart something of themselves to their fellows. The wisdom they possess and the strength of their characters are not separated from themselves and passed over or imputed to others, and yet their virtues manifesting themselves unto others quicken and strengthen them so that they arouse themselves to thought and action on similar lines. It is a mystery, but who has not become wiser and stronger and in every way better fitted for conflict and suffering by the counsel, sympathy and example of good and wise men? In like manner, but in a far deeper sense, are men quickened and strengthened by constant com-

munication with Christ. So the Apostles were lifted up. That which at first was a dawning light in their souls proved to be the power of God unto salvation, or the power of righteousness and sanctification and redemption.

But here, as in the matter of knowledge, he who does not apprehend, lay hold on Christ and imitate His example receives no moral or spiritual power. At this point the example of the smith's arm which grows and gathers strength by exercise is pertinent. Righteousness and sanctification and redemption, the results of the exercise of the moral faculties, can become the possession of those only who win them, who, so to speak, win them for themselves. To possess righteousness, the righteousness of Christ, is to be or to become righteous, and no one can be or become righteous by subtracting righteousness from Christ and adding it to himself. Such transactions are not possible in the sphere of the physical, and much less in that of the moral. As in the acquisition of knowledge, so also in the matter of bettering one's self, one must be a faithful doer of the Word. The Old and the New Testaments abundantly testify to this in the characters which they present for our guidance.

The preaching of the Apostles was not of a perfunctory character. They spoke as those who themselves believed, and by their lives they bore testimony to the truth. They were the bearers to others of the power which they themselves possessed. And the process does not stop with them. To-day men, directed to Christ by the word of God in the Scriptures and by the voice and power of God in and through the ministers and followers of Christ, draw their wisdom and strength unto salvation from Him. The Church thus is indeed the pillar and ground, the bearer of the Truth. She, in a secondary sense, produces the Bible; she decides upon the canon of Scripture; she preserves it; she expounds it; and by her history she demonstrates and testifies to the power of Christ, to whom, and to whom alone, she points as the source of light and life.

When the Apostles founded the church at Ephesus, and in fact all the congregations of their times, there was no New Tes-

tament in the form in which we now have it. It was the living preacher who was the bearer of the truth and power of God. And to-day, my friends, it is to living witnesses that we must look for the right interpretation of Christ's mission and the manifestation of His power. This again explains that progress which is manifest on every page of history since the day of Pentecost, and which will continue to the end of time. Doctrines once held have given place to those which are broader and deeper; customs once of almost universal prevalence have disappeared; love and charity, once a narrow and shallow stream, runs deeper and wider. God, in a real historical way, is revealing Himself, and we to-day are a part of the revelation; we come to be, according to the measure of our ability and faith, the bearers of His wisdom and power. Oh, Yes! In Christ we have become fellow members with the saints of the household of God. In Him we are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and in Him, on that foundation, we are fitly framed together and grow into a holy temple in the Lord.

This knowledge and power, which issues from its source in Christ, is the means of blending Christians of all times and places into one body whose head is the Lord. In other words Christ is finally the unifying principle. As in Him men become reconciled unto God, they likewise in Him become reconciled to each other. He is the only true bond of union and fellowship. After many centuries of conflict and after much persecution the Church is gradually coming to learn and accept this important truth. At all events she is laying hold of it as never before. So long as men look away from Christ and lose sight of the fact that His chief mission and work is to better man's moral and spiritual condition, to save him from sin and cause him to work righteousness; so long as they forget, and look away from, the fact that all required of men by the Saviour Himself to constitute them fellow members with the saints is to exercise faith in Him as the source of life and salvation, and to walk in obedience to His word observing His holy ordinances,—so long, we say, as men look away from these essentials and insist on mak-

ing paramount certain doctrines, theories and opinions, whether delivered at Rome or Geneva, Dortrecht or Boston, no real approach can be made to Church union, except, perhaps, negatively, in the way of preparation. Christians may differ in opinions, and perhaps always will, on a thousand or more subordinate, non-essential matters, on the nature of the sacraments, for example, on methods of worship, forms of church government, modes of administration; but on this vital and essential point, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ and unreserved consecration to His service, they are and must be one. By this test alone the Christian and non-Christian are to be distinguished. All efforts at organic, or any other kind of Church union must be ruled by this central principle.

It used to be very popular and it sounded very plausible to say, "We make the Bible the foundation of Christian life and fellowship." But the cry in time proved itself a cheat and a fraud, for it was always the Bible as they who raised the cry understood it, and with such the test of discipleship even now narrows itself down to the observance of one or two outward forms. The only reason why the different branches of the Church are not more closely united to-day is because men have not yet learned fully and clearly to distinguish non-essentials from essentials, and to practice mutual forbearance in matters of opinion in respect to that which in no way affects or conflicts with sound, saving faith and right living. We doubt whether what is ordinarily understood by the term organic union is absolutely necessary to the realization of true Church union. But whether organic union is necessary or not, if true Church union is ever to be realized in this world, it must work itself out from Christ as the center and principle of life and co-operation, for it can never be so by starting on the periphery, where men exhibit their shallow appreciation of the great mystery of redemption in their style of dress, forms of administration and various other details.

Every honest movement looking towards organic union amongst the Christian denominations should be welcomed and

encouraged, but its advocates should, at the same time, not forget that such a movement demands, first, and above all, the spirit of toleration. Organic union, or any other form of union will not be brought about so long as men persist in forcing, or trying to force, their own peculiar views and opinions in regard to subordinate doctrines, forms and methods upon their fellow Christians. The very spirit of the Gospel is the spirit of freedom in the domain of thought. So long as men cling to Christ as the source of knowledge and strength, so long as they rest on the verities of the faith summed up in the Catholic Apostolic creed of the ages, they are entitled to be reckoned amongst the saints and as members of the household of God. They are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Heads may indeed go wrong, as history demonstrates, but the general trend will be towards a clearer and more correct understanding of truth ; but hearts can not go wrong without faltering or stammering at the Creed. Nor can we always be too sure that this or that man, the accuser or the accused, is the one nearer the truth. Too often has the blood of martyrs proved to be the seed of the Church. When we reflect that many centuries have been required to perfect the statement of certain doctrines, as, for instance, that of the atonement, with but partial success, we must accord that measure of liberty to others which we demand for ourselves. True union, true fellowship, can exist only where men look steadfastly into the face of Christ and strive to serve Him faithfully by conforming their lives to His.

And now, brethren and friends, let us not forget that men are not to be held accountable for what they achieve in the way of spiritual knowledge and power. God does not judge men by what may be outwardly summed up, but He does judge them by the effort which they make to attain. Ah ! here is where the conscience inflicts its sharpest and most potent sting. Let each one then look to Christ and be faithful to his privileges and opportunities, and each will have his highest and best reward in being permitted to join the fellowship of the redeemed in the perfected temple in the world to come. Amen.

VI.

THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.*

BY PROF. JOHN B. KIEFFER.

"Not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light;
Eastward the sun climbs slow, how slowly;
But westward, look, the land is bright."

Clough.

CHIEF among the causes which led to the discovery of America must be reckoned its paramount importance to the higher developments of human history. Those developments could not have been reached on European soil, nor could the spiritual and moral conditions achieved in Europe have been transferred to Asia and carried to their normal conclusions among the inert masses of mankind that have packed that continent for so many ages. What was absolutely necessary was an entirely new world, where human progress should not be trammelled by traditional conventions, nor impeded by having to mould to its purposes already existing but crass masses of men.

I.

As a race, no less than as an individual, man passes through a prolonged growth the end of which historically is the conscious freedom of the human spirit, and its reconciliation with its environment. To this development every age contributes in strict proportion to its ability and none can willfully increase or diminish its contribution. Far from complete though the

*The writer acknowledges his obligations to Fiske's "Discovery of America," Winsor's "Christopher Columbus," Payne's "History of the New World," Stubbs' "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History," and Freeman's "Chief Period of European History."

promise is, and although the Orient, with its brooding sense of oppression and its inert stability, is a present protest against rash speculation, so much at least may be affirmed: Western man—the various members of the great Aryan family—seems to be entrusted with the solemn mission of “discovering the world,” and “discovering man ;” i. e., of bringing the race to its majority, of putting it in conscious possession of its inheritance, of stimulating its unprogressive members to a proper recognition of the oneness of the race in origin, power, and destiny, and so to a harmonious accord with members that are progressive that the entire race may at length be made mentally, morally, and spiritually complete.

But we shall greatly mistake the importance of the age of the great discoverers to this process if we fix our attention on its remarkable commercial activity, its tendency towards scientific thought, or its inventive spirit as shown in the mariner's compass, the printing-press, gunpowder, and the telescope, and imagine that these are the measure of its ultimate and true significance. On the contrary they are but the outer signs of a wonderful spiritual ferment agitating mankind,—only the means which the human spirit discovered whereby to penetrate the secrets of nature, win for itself, if possible, an acquaintance with first causes, and break the physical bonds by which it felt itself confined. As the history of individual man is more than the history of the tools with which he delves, or of the food on which he lives, so the history of medieval man is something more than the history of the process by which these inventions came into being. As we may say that the history of the period in which we live is the history of the conflict and growth of ideas, and that of modern times prior to the French Revolution the history of powers, forces, and dynasties, so we may say that medieval history is the history of rights and wrongs. Not that there are no rights and wrongs in the struggles that mark modern history, or no ideas working their way out in men's lives in medieval times; but in each period the fundamental principle of historical action is distinct from that of the others

in this, that one particular phase of the wants and conditions of human life forces itself into prominence, takes precedence of all others, and becomes the chief characteristic of the age.

This controlling feature of medieval history—this struggle for right, for proprietary right, for individual right—is a direct result of Roman development transferred to and carried forward by the barbarous races which Rome subdued. For, whatever were the defects in the Roman constitution, however little the idea of representation found place there, and however surely a vanquished people were disarmed, overawed by powerful legions, plundered with impunity by rapacious governors, drained of their wealth by exorbitant taxes, and of their ablest men by the solicitations of a distant capital, Rome nevertheless had established an era of law and order. Its government was severe and harsh, but it was steady and firm, and if it took the wealth of its subject provinces, it gave them the arts and sciences and manners of a civilized people, and together with these, and in one sense of far more importance than these, if not a love, at least a profound respect, for law. It was a lesson which the world of the west could have learned in the same way from no other schooling. The Teuton loved license too much to understand the value of universal right; even his religious sense had no depth, and where murder was not punished as a crime,—even if fidelity to a principle once discovered was a controlling power,—there the idea of law could scarcely be said to exist.

The general establishment of legal studies in the universities of Europe from 1000 to 1500 A.D., the measures repeatedly adopted for the suppression of the custom of private war, the proclamation at stated times of the *Peace of God*, and the multiplication of central in place of local tribunals,—all these point to a wide-spread groping after the establishment of the principle of right, and the determination of individual rights. The gradual conversion of license loving Teutons into law-abiding men, the formation of characters like that of Frederick III., the continued existence of small states by the side of larger and fiercer

states, and the respect for historical claims to the possession of territory, are so many more proofs of the same thing. And when to this we add that the wonderful persistence of that decaying and diminishing idea of the Roman Empire, as well as the no less wonderful growth of that other aggressive idea, the Papal Power, is due to this same groping after and respect for right, we can understand what is meant when it is said that the fundamental principle of the Middle Ages was that of right and wrong.

But nations harden in the process of their growth, they crystalize along the lines of their movement, and soon show an inability to carry forward the controlling and informing principle of their existence beyond a more or less well defined point of advancement. They, too, are born, live, labor, and die like individual man, and the decrepitude of age comes over them before their struggles find their fruition in the higher stages of historical progress that are to follow them. And the reason is not very hard to ascertain. It doubtless is the fact that the conservatism attaching to human life binds future-efforts to past examples and so overpowers the productive and aggressive forces in human society. One of the causes contributing to this result is the influence of a people's surroundings. And although the effect produced upon its inhabitants by the physical features of a country varies with the civilization of the people, nevertheless in every instance it will be found that an extremely subtle and powerful modification of the character and action of a people is due to this one cause. A glance at the conditions imposed upon Europe in this way will show why it was that the controlling principle of medieval history could not be carried onward through the intervening stage of force and dynasty into the still higher region of idea in universal application,—why it was that new nations of vaster proportions and of wider vision, and an entirely new world, were needed for the adequate development of the human race.

A glance at the map of Europe will show that the two peninsulas which made the deepest impression on European history,

alike in ancient and in medieval times, occupy a very singular and significant position relative to each other and to the rest of the world. Italy and Greece lie, so to speak, back to back. The eastern coast of the latter, with its numerous land-locked bays and scattered islands, seems to be reaching out invitingly to the equally numerous harbors of the opposite coasts of Asia Minor. On the west its coastline shows hardly a place where a ship can find shelter, and in every way it is inhospitable and forbidding. On the other hand, Italy is as uninviting and repelling on the east as Greece is on the west; and, offering abundance of safe harbors only on the west, seems to have left behind it that portion of the history of the world which culminated in the conquests of Alexander, and to be speculating on the mysteries and possibilities of the unknown west. But strikingly apparent as is their mutual opposition of view, they still are, each in its own way, representative portions of Europe,—Greece in particular being the most European of European lands. Being a land of multitudinous mountains and confined valleys, its very configuration lessened the danger of invasions from the interior and of wars of reprisal between separate tribes. A security to the tenure of possession elsewhere impossible was thus achieved, and that continuous development within certain narrow limits which resulted in an exhibition to the world for all time of “what man can be in a narrow space, and in a short space of time.”

But (and it is here that Greece serves as an illustration of the limitations of Greater Greece,—which is Europe) while the configuration of its territory tended to protect every portion of the Greek people from being conquered, “it also kept them politically disunited,” and “fostered that powerful principle of repulsion which disposed even the smallest township to constitute itself a political unit apart from the rest, and to resist all idea of coalescence either amicable or compulsory,”—so that to a Greek his individual city was all in all, and to lose it was to lose all that made life worth living. And although this negative effect was largely modified by the constant influence of the sea,

which drew men into an intercourse as much more varied and stimulating than that of the Phenicians, as the commerce of the latter was more extensive, but also more purely material, than that of the Greeks, it nevertheless was the final cause of the humiliation and ruin of the Hellenic people. And this tendency of the physical features of a country to accentuate the individuality of its inhabitants is so fixed and persistent that to this day traces of the rivalries and local jealousies which wrought this ruin may be found in Boeotia, in Sparta, in the islands of the Ægean, and in every corner of what once was Hellas.

Now what is true of Greece is true of the whole of Europe. For, unlike the extensive plains and table lands of Asia, Europe is not the home of vast aggregations of homogeneous human beings, socially and spiritually stationary and self-centered, but the home of peoples the ruling principle of whose social compact tends naturally and inevitably to separation, particularity and antagonism. And although the separation and antagonism begets variety as the foundation of many-sided activity and essential to the very inception of progress, the physical conditions that render it inevitable at the same time also prevent it from reaching the highest type and most perfect state of human development. Western Europe is far in advance, however, of the position occupied by Greece in this, that with the very commencement of its independent growth a larger conception of human destiny, a broader generalization of human conditions and relations, begins to develop and force itself into view. In this process, which has been called "the physical growth of the world," the substitution of the nation for the city becomes an all important feature. As long as any shadow of Roman power lasted, and wherever that power had made itself felt, the city, even as it had been in Greece, was the natural centre of social political life. But with the dissolution of the Roman Empire the Teuton and the Slave came upon the scene and ever since have held the most important position in all social and political movements. The advance which this change marks lies in the fact that Teutonic political society starts from the tribe, and

not from the city. The city of southern Europe resisted all intimations of coalescence, and agreed to federation only when forced to do so by external compulsion. Whatever union might be effected in this way not only involved in some degree a mutual concession of superiority and inferiority, but was also only a temporary grouping and sure to fall in pieces so soon as the outward compelling necessity was withdrawn. On the other hand, two tribes may be physically rolled into one and the resulting union will involve no subjection or admission of inferiority, and so will be natural and abiding. It was by such fusions that the great nations of Europe, Italy, France, Spain, England and Germany took shape. To such an extent was the principle operative, indeed, that it eventually led to the consolidation of political powers, until a king could say *L'Etat c'est moi*, and of spiritual functions until an ecclesiastical autocrat likewise could declare *L'Eglise c'est moi*.

But all this was done slowly and obscurely, amid stupidity and ignorance, and with the utmost travail of the human soul. Nothing came suddenly and human life moved on in its accustomed grooves as if no change, no development, no enlargement, no liberation was possible, or in course of growth. And yet the truth was not without its witnesses. There were prophecies upon prophecies of the coming birth of liberty and of the spirit of tolerance, but they fell upon dull ears, and when the birth came it was through a baptism of blood and death. The empire of Charlemagne in the second generation already fell to pieces, not only because of the will of Louis the Pious, but also because the Franks of Gaul were separating from the Franks of Germany, and those of Germany from the people of Italy. The destructive tendency of Europe to the individual and particular was asserting itself. And it did not cease until it had produced a condition of utter isolation where only might was right, where no validity was given to the claims of virtue and of law, but brutal lust, a most barbarous caprice, deceit and cunning were the moral features of the age. Vice, we are told, was enthroned, and its reign was an era of riotous debauchery. No

wonder that men could find no repose and Christendom was, so to speak, "agitated with the tremors of an evil conscience." No wonder that "the fear of the approaching final judgment and the speedy dissolution of the world spread throughout Europe," and filled pious men's souls with dismay so that they passed their lives amid the gloom and rigors of unending penance. In the words of Mr. Symonds: "During the middle ages man lived enveloped in a cowl. He had not seen the beauty of the world, or had seen it only to cross himself and turn aside and tell his beads. Like St. Bernard traveling along the shores of lake Lemman, and noticing neither the azure of the waters nor the radiance of the mountains with their robe of sun and snow, but bending a thought-burdened forehead over the neck of his mule; even like this monk humanity had passed a careful pilgrim intent on the terrors of sin, death and judgment, along the highways of the world, and had scarcely known that they were sight-worthy, or that life is a blessing. Beauty is a snare, pleasure a sin, the world a fleeting show, man fallen and lost, death the only certainty, judgment inevitable, hell everlasting, heaven hard to win; ignorance is acceptable to God, abstinence and mortification the only safe rules of life; these were the ideas of the Ascetic Medieval Church." But amid this desolation and the ruin wrought by this abeyance of the human understanding there were not wanting efforts to break the enveloping gloom. Pitiful as is the thought of medieval students "poring over a single sentence of Porphyry, endeavoring to extract from its clauses whole systems of logical science," or of "tide after tide of the ocean of humanity sweeping from all parts of Europe to break in passionate but unavailing foam upon the shores of Palestine," it was by precisely such struggles that the way was being prepared for the coming change. In their very midst Abelard was trying to prove that the endless dispute about things and names rested on a misapprehension; Joachim of Flora was crying: "The Gospel of the Father is passed, the Gospel of the Son is passing, the Gospel of the Spirit is to be," and Roger Bacon was anticipating the

reign of modern science. But neither the Church nor the State, the mystic nor the scholar, could bridge over the chasm between what Europe was doing and what humanity needed to do before the last age could be ushered in. That particularity which was the inherent weakness of European history, bred of selfishness and fostered by social and political, as well as physical, conditions, was too strong a solvent to permit anything but temporary and partial unions.

And what was true of Europe during the Middle Ages is true of Europe to-day. No unions but such as are forced from without by considerations of expediency find place there. Each nation does what is right in its own eyes, and nothing but an inherent respect for traditional legality, and a dread of the superior force of a covetous neighbor prevents the destructive exercise of power for selfish ends. The underlying principle of European history during the modern period has been that of the *Balance of Power*,—a principle which may be said to differ from the destructive selfishness of the Feudal period only in this that it is a recognized convention forced by general expediency and sustained by common consent,—a principle whose importance is equalled only by its difficulty and the unevenness of its application. For according to it the weak state is bound to the strictest fulfillment of every international stipulation, but the strong is absolved by the mere possession of strength from any vexatious and involuntary observance of its requirements. And this inequitable application of the principle is not rectified by the institution or recognition of arbitration. The strong puts its own construction on the law, and the weak has no redress.

A little reflection will show the truth of this. Beginning with the Reformation,—which was as much a struggle of force as it was a struggle of idea,—here force prevailing and there idea, the purer form proving ultimately to be the weaker,—whatever union had already been secured begins to break up, and the disruption recognizes no principle, following in one case territorial lines and in another the caprice of a monarch

or the cunning of a diplomatist. Spain at first is the all-threatening force, and intrigues for the dismemberment of France while France is intriguing for the dismemberment of the Netherlands. Soon the United Provinces gain recognition, and the action of Spain begins to grow languid. Then comes the *Thirty Years' War*,—"Austria against the princes, Catholic against Protestant, ancient territorial right as against new territorial force." Then follow the glories of Louis XIV. against alliances not of principle but of expediency, the struggles of the Spanish and Imperial successions, and the triumphant career of Frederick II. What page of European history does not furnish instances of this turmoil? Indulgence agitations in Germany, divorce agitations in England, growth of Huguenotism in France, the rise of men like Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Calvin and Knox,—all were intimations that western society was, as it always had been, a seething mass of conflicting individual interests, and that it was struggling to break away from the past, from the repression and deadening effect of national traditions, and from the palsy influence of religious traditions, into a world of broader scope and truer freedom, where human action might run in channels not blocked by the formalities of *ex post facto* law, but reach out towards speedier realizations of its inherent hopes. But in all this change and strife the law of self-protection amongst the powers imposed the necessity of combinations—combinations against the propaganda of liberty during the French Revolution, and combinations against the propaganda of imperial consolidation under Napoleon. Even since 1848 Europe has been the scene of constant excitement, uneasiness, and mistrust. Again the cry of Fraternity, Liberty, Equality from France threw the political world into turmoil, and again an appeal to force and the old views of legality seemed to prevail and save society. And when, beginning with the Crimean War, the doctrine of the Balance of Power lost much of its authority and made way for another, that other was found to be not only not more unselfish but also no better calculated to advance the interests of

absolute right,—the doctrine, namely, of *non-intervention*. To assert that these two political canons were only names to cover up the duplicity and corrupt practices of crafty diplomatists and nothing more would, indeed, be too sweeping a denunciation of what was really the best that men of deservedly high reputation in point of character and political wisdom could do under the circumstances. But the partition and suppression of Poland showed how easily fraud and force could remove territorial landmarks; and the mistake of the Crimean war, if mistake it was, proved how ready a mercenary and unprincipled diplomacy was to embroil the nations, if thereby one might gain even a temporary advantage.

Any examination of European history such as here indicated, whether ecclesiastical, political, or social, will show the same feature of inability to compass such a general principle of action as shall include all men and all times. Blind adhesion to theological dogma, an unwavering insistency on the power of what so often proves a laggard in human life, to wit, the law, child-like admiration of the past that cleaves to all men and blocks the way of change and reform, the careful maintenance of sharply defined class-distinctions, isolation, particularity, and want of balance alike in individual character and in state action, and the unsatisfying struggle for more perfect organizations always falling back into old forms—all go to sustain the view that the mission in human history which Europe was appointed to fill was a partial and limited mission,—a highly important step in the progress of the race, indeed, but only a step, and one that brought the race to the threshold of a new world and to a glorious revelation of new and astounding possibilities.

And the completion of four centuries of new world history finds the view sustained that the discovery of America has provided for the exigencies of Europe precisely what was needed. For alike in their physical features and in their contributions to the food supplies of the earth the continents of the western hemisphere are specially fitted to be the homes of vast aggregations of men. They are not continents of manifold divisions

and subdivisions where all possible growth is limited by mountain barriers and all historical action is doomed to expend itself in the construction of isolated and detached political organizations, or to follow up only individual lines of development with little or no power to group, fuse, and correlate them all in a large and more comprehensive whole. The discovery of America was the introduction, not to a continent, or an ocean, but, as Mr. Freeman pointed out, to "a world of continents and oceans,"—a world whose vastness "nothing better shows than the fact that we are driven to form a plural for this last primeval name,"—a world to which "the ocean and his borderlands are what the *Ægean* and its borderlands, the *Mediterranean* and its borderlands" were to the world we have outgrown. Here everything is on a scale to which nothing in Europe corresponds. Our mountains can hardly be called barriers, and our lakes and our rivers are the natural highways of intercourse and trade on a scale which elsewhere would be sought in vain. Nature seems to have consumed the ages during which what may be the last home of the race was enveloped in impenetrable gloom in studying the wants of the race and fashioning this wonderful land in every particular to meet them as they should be revealed. And the struggle which marked the social and political coming of age of this new world was a struggle against particularity and separation, and the assertion of a principle of union which rested on the recognition of the essential freedom and equality of men, and on the confident belief that the people are as true and reliable an exponent and protector of justice as enthroned senility, or diplomatic conceit. Nowhere in all history did international politics reach so high a point of ethical elevation as in the Geneva arbitration between the United States and Great Britain; and nowhere did it happen that such questions as are involved in the lockout at Homestead, or the strike at Buffalo, were made the basis of a general demand for arbitration, or for the suggestion that the revision of laws determining the rights and the relations of property was the crying need of the

hour, in the way that suggestion has recently been put forth. Nor has the principle of universality which seems already to be distinguishing the New World from the Old failed to find in America sufficient scope for its action. The discoveries which go so far towards annihilating separation in space and separation in time nowhere are more significant, and nowhere have a more fruitful and forcible application. The steamer, the railway, the telegraph, the telephone, are wholesome and necessary institutions considered only in their bearing upon the material, or physical conditions of a people; but they are potencies of prime importance in a proper estimate of the spiritual destiny of the race. Because they "hinder man's political and intellectual life from being crushed by mere physical extension," because they enable large states and nations to rise to the political level of small ones, and make it possible for the United States, spread over a world far wider than any age of Roman Empire, to abide as a representative composite nation, free and freely united, they are blessings whose magnitude can be measured only by their necessity.

And if we turn from political considerations we shall find in the church and in society the same struggle for ideas and universal conceptions. Revision of creeds, assertions of new principles of interpretation and new constructions of dogmas, the deeply felt need of the removal of old time walls of separation and of closer union, and the disposition to concede the claim for help to rise to the level of their rights and their powers on the part of the lower classes, all are intimations that the old-time conventions are losing power and that the day of larger and nobler things is at hand.

The *New World* stands,—not for the wealth that Columbus sought, not for freedom from restraint only in the sense of license, not even for the conversion of the heathen to a form of religion which permitted the destruction of the heathen by means of slavery and all that slavery involves,—but it stands for the adequate realization and the universal application of the idea of right, of liberty, which the old world felt after long-

ingly, and realized in so many imperfect foreshadowings only, but could not perfectly achieve. It stands for the confirmation by the Spirit of that universal brotherhood of man which the Son made the second great commandment. Joachim of Flora might now well say: "The Gospel of the Father is passed, the Gospel of the Son is passed, the Gospel of the Spirit is here." Without the discovery of America this could not have been—that it might be was the chief cause of that great event.

II.

Even as is the coming of the light when the day is breaking, so is the coming of the truth in any of its forms. The first faint almost imperceptible glimmer which hovers above the distant hills gradually expands into a steady effulgence and fills the upper air; anon long streams of ruddy light shoot towards the far zenith, and last of all the full orb of the glad sun rolls aloft and scatters the gloom that still lingers in the lowlands. And such was the Discovery of America,—not an act the full credit and glory of which one man might claim and appropriate,—not an occurrence befalling human history with no antecedent connection or relation thereto,—not an incident having no effect upon the ultimate issues of human progress,—but a long and steady process. Of this process the second principal cause, subordinate to the one that has been discussed, as a temporal realization is subordinate to a divine purpose, but supreme above others and comprehending them all, is man's ceaseless striving for the betterment of his condition,—and that, not in material comfort only, but in all that is involved in the full exercise of the highest functions of which he finds himself the centre. So far as we can trace it, it appears first in the eastern Mediterranean along with the dawn of European civilization.

And, as in all things terrestrial every movement follows the line of the least resistance and every historical process rests on an economical basis, so the very first indications of a steady growth, whether of the Phenician or the Greek, manifests a

constant tendency on the part of those early races to find relief and expansion, as well as easier sustenance, in the yet unexplored and virgin west. For it was not the case that speculative and adventurous spirits who were dissatisfied and restless at home were the only authors of such movements, or that dispossessed peoples alone sought new homes and founded colonies in unknown lands, and so discovered the store of wealth that had long been hidden from the greed and use of men. Before the Phenicians settled Cadiz or the Phocæans Marseilles the ships of kings had scoured the seas for conquest and for pillage; and the tales we are told of the gold that Jason brought from Colchis, or of that which the Griffins guarded against the one-eyed Arimaspeans, show that the desire for riches and the power that riches bestow was an original source of the tendency, and did not first attach to it when Ferdinand and Isabella granted the long-delayed wish of the great discoverer. And it was not only Minos ridding the sea of pirates that the king of Egypt might fill his coffers with tribute, or Dido fleeing Pygmalion's wrath and laying the foundations of the power which was to contend with Rome for the dominion of the world, that exhibited the constant westward tendency of historical growth. Even that Hebrew prophet who fled from the face of the Lord in a ship of Tarshish, and that other Hebrew prophet, who, foreshadowing the golden age of the chosen people, saw in vision the pouring towards Zion of all the abundance of the sea, "the ships of Tarshish flying from far 'as a cloud and as doves to their windows,' and bringing with them 'their silver and their gold,'—even these are witnesses to the wide extension the tendency had already reached. For this Tarshish of Ezekiel's vision and of Jonah's desire was the Tartessus of Spain,—as true an El Dorado to the Phœnician mariners of, it may be, fifteen hundred years before Christ as Mexico and Peru were to Cortez and Pizarro fifteen hundred years after Christ. For it was a land of most fabulous resources, where the Tagus rolled down its gold, and the Guadiana its silver, where the sailors used chunks

of the precious metals as anchors for their boats, and the Iberians fed their horses in mangers of gold, and seethed their beer in vats of silver. And we may be sure that the crafty people who had control of the sea, and in whose hands for centuries had been the commerce of the western world, flocked to the mines that "stuffed the coast of Spain from the Tagus to the Pyrenees," and with jealous care guarded the secret of their rapidly growing wealth from all possible competitors.

It cannot be considered a wild conjecture to say that, when all this was doing, and venturesome mariners were even daring the billows of the ocean, the Carthaginian Himilco and his fleet, drifting on the Sea of Darkness, might have discovered America more than two thousand years before the great Genoese was born. But such an accident—for accident it certainly had been—would have been productive of no results, as even the much later discoveries of the Canaries and the Azores, or even of Vinland the Good, proved to be. The fullness of the time was not yet come, and Rome, not Carthage, was to be heir to the ripe intelligence of the world, and a Teutonic Aryan, not a Phoenician Semite, the bearer of its best fruits to the lands beyond the western flood. Carthage had no ideals; and so Carthage perished, and left scarce a trace of its being, save where her trading instincts had founded towns which lived and prospered when she was gone. And the ideals even of Rome needed to be purged and uplifted by the clearer intellect of Greece, and transferred to the more intense and purer devotion of a new people and a new faith, before they could be made fruitful of true life to men. It was accordingly in Greece and by Greeks that the first conscious effort which eventually issued in the discovery of America was made,—if we may call that a conscious effort which was but the speculative deduction from more or less careful observation. For the conquests of Alexander, with such a master of scientific thought as Aristotle to study and weigh them, could not but have added a wonderful zest to all inquiries into natural phenomena, but especially into the fundamental idea of all geography, namely,

the position and shape of the earth. That the earth was a sphere, and that it was situated at the centre of the universe and there remained at rest, was the accepted belief of philosophers in the time of Aristotle. What the latter contributed to this view was,—first, the proofs, from the natural tendency of matter to gravitate to a common centre, and from the circular appearance of the shadow of the earth during an eclipse of the moon, that the earth was round; secondly, the proof that the earth is of comparatively small dimensions, as derived from the notable change in the aspect of the heavens by a journey only as far as from Greece to Egypt; and, thirdly, his inference that in the southern hemisphere there was a temperate zone corresponding to that of the northern hemisphere; but, above all, his declaration that the tract between the columns of Hercules and India might be inhabited, and could be visited if it were not for the great extent of the sea. A crude surmise, and nothing more, this latter doubtless was, but still it showed that thoughtful men were speculating on the possibilities of the unknown tracts of the terrestrial sphere. And the surmise of Aristotle waited hardly more than a half century for the father of systematic geography to give it further corroboration, to fix on a scientific basis much that with him had been conjecture, and to affirm that it was wholly possible to reach the remote east by sailing to the remote west. For, although Pythias of Marseilles had calculated the latitude of his native town to within a minute of the truth years before Eratosthenes was born, it was Eratosthenes who first measured a degree on the meridian and so determined the size of the earth. And the determination of the size of the earth was a long step forwards in the matter of western adventure. It led to an approximate estimate of the extent of the Atlantic, and tempted men repeatedly to think its passage possible. For we are mistaken if we imagine that such dreams were not entertained. Men of extensive acquirements and keen intellects, the scholars of Alexandria, who, to assist their studies, constructed globes and laid out upon them the portions of the earth which then

were known, surely could not avoid the thought that in the expanse west of Europe might be other lands habitable, if not already inhabited. And had not the Roman Marcellus, into whose hands the magnificent globes of Archimedes fell along with other Syracusan spoil, been a land staying mortal the suggestions of his plunder might have awakened in him, or in his people, some immediately responsive speculation on this fruitful theme. But though Greek surmises were permitted to sleep at Rome, they slept but for a season. Posidonius, Cicero, Lucan, and how many more, inspired by their example and instruction, took up and treasured the tempting thought. And Seneca, repeating Posidonius' phrase, exclaimed: "Pray, how far is it from the farthest shores of Spain westward to those of India? A very few days' sail, with a fair wind at your back," and then wrote that passage over which Columbus is said to have pondered with so much patient and hopeful longing: "The Indian now quaffs the Araxes; the Persian drinks of the Elbe and the Rhine. And the time shall even come when the raging ocean itself, instead of being a limit and an obstacle, shall become a means of communication. The *οἰκουμένη* will thus be thrown open, the pilots of the ocean will discover new *οἰκούμεναι* and there shall no longer be a remotest Thule on the map." A century later, as if with the deliberate intention of inducing men to attempt the passage of the Atlantic, Marinus Tyrius, the father of mathematical geography, declared that the land surface of the globe occupied fifteen hours of the sun's course, so that but nine hours were left for the western voyager to traverse. And although his great successor Ptolemy made the width of the ocean equal to the extent of the land surface, the fact that all these ancient geographers attached so much importance to determining the true extent of the ocean shows that they were consciously speculating on the possibility of crossing it, and of realizing even in Ptolemy's time what Eratosthenes had said four centuries before, that, namely, were it not for the extent of the Atlantic we should be able to sail from Spain to India.

Moreover the discovery that Cicero was wrong in imagining

that there was a broad girdle of ocean in the region of the equator, and that instead the western coast of Africa extended in an unbroken line towards the south, or as Ptolemy believed even to the south pole, brought with it the conviction that if ever India was to be reached from Europe by sea it must be by the western route across the Atlantic.

This result of the speculations of the ancient geographers met with but indifferent treatment, and even with opposition, during the middle ages. Men had other things to think of. Their souls were brooding over their sins and the mysteries of their transcendent faith. Their belief that Christ died to save all men that dwell upon the earth could not admit the speculative conception of other continents than that on which Christ lived and died, or of another race who were not of the seed of Adam. "What fool," cries Lactantius, "believes that there are men walking with their feet higher than their heads? That objects which with us lie upon the ground, are there suspended from it? That plants and trees spring downward, while snow, rain and hail fall upward?" And even the great Augustine, with all his large experience of life, declared: "The fable of the Antipodes, that is, of men whose feet are opposite to ours, is on no account to be believed." But yet this was not so much a blind contention against scientific truth, as it was a bold declaration of the certainty of the faith which they professed. Not the sphericity of the earth, but the existence of beings outside the reach of divine grace, was the object of their denial and contempt. And so the truth maintained its ground in the face of their opposition and from time to time found more or less adequate utterance. The English Alcuin, the German Rabanus Maurus, the Arabian geographers, the prophetic soul of Dante, Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon, were the successive heralds who handed it on until Aliacus embodied the cosmographical views of the ancients in his work called *Imago Mundi*, and so transmitted them to Columbus. For this was the book which the great Genoese most pondered, and from which he received most encouragement for his undertaking.

For the eminent author had improved upon this conjecture of Seneca, and resolutely affirmed that "the Atlantic ocean could be sailed over in a few days, if the wind were favorable, and was in fact but a comparatively narrow strip of sea running north and south between India and Spain."

But the genius of Columbus, eminently speculative though it was, could not ignore the characteristics of his age and country. It was gold and precious stones, drugs and spices, that the age demanded. A proposition to cross the ocean merely for the sake of discovery would never have won the attention either of church or state, monarch or people. And undoubtedly, if Columbus had been told that eastern Asia was three-fourths of the earth's circumference from western Europe, and that the way thither was barred by a continent extending from the extreme north to the extreme south, he would have abandoned all thought of the attempt. Another set of circumstances, which may be called a subsidiary cause, was needed in order to precipitate the attention of Europe in the direction of western adventure. When the west of Europe came to be densely populated, and its resources fully developed, even to the shore of the ocean, there was no farther-west towards which to look for easy conquests and for rapid growth in wealth. The barren waste of the Sea of Darkness was as a wall of enclosure shutting in its people, and they could not, or at least did not, concern themselves with the problem of what might lie out beyond it. Eastward their attention was irresistibly drawn, not only because from immemorial times the east was the abode of tribes and nations which Europe had reason to fear, but also because there was much there which Europe had reason to love and long to obtain. How full it was of all that man's heart could desire; what a home of wealth, and luxury, and splendor; how rich a market for the iron and copper, the quicksilver and timber, the slaves and corn of Europe could there be found; how soon the results of Alexander's expedition to this land so richly gifted by nature and so full of the treasures accumulated by the toil of man were forgotten; how the Tartar invasion of

Europe and the effort to convert those hordes of the steppe to Christ, the travels of Marco Polo, and the marvellous tales of Sir John Mandeville, reopened and stimulated the trade of Europe with the far East, it would detain us much too long to tell.

But rich as was the ensuing commerce, its balances always were in favor of the East. The three hundred thousand ducats in coin which the ships of Venice yearly carried to Alexandria to meet the demands of this trade was a drain which Europe was wholly unable to bear. And the resulting increase in values, so that in one century "the purchasing power of gold and silver was double the same power in the century preceding," began to imperil the prosperity of the Mediterranean commercial centres. A more economical route to the east was an absolute necessity to the longer continuance of successful traffic. And so in the thirteenth century already the Genoese began to extend their explorations beyond the Straits of Gibraltar in the hope that the discovery of such a route might avert the threatening disaster. Their failure to find what they sought, and the gradual strangling of their Oriental trade by the growing power of the Turk, followed by its complete extinction in the fall of Constantinople in 1453, raised the question: "Can there be an outside route?" as it never had been raised before. It was a startling question, but back of it lay the thoughts and speculations and dreams of centuries, and many an abortive effort to cross the expanse, and also many an unmistakable evidence that lands and peoples lay beyond the flood. To meet the terrors of an ocean voyage when so much was at stake, how could that be impossible to men who already had sailed to the Canaries and the Azores, and who knew of others who had sailed from the Red Sea to India? The impelling necessity of such a route found the men of the age prepared to meet and to treat it with consummate boldness, for they had been trained as, perhaps, the men of no other age were trained to the perils of the sea.

And it is very significant that when at last the age of ex-

ploration was practically begun it was to Genoa, the last great centre of the trade with the far east, that the princes of the west looked for captains to conduct their ventures. Italian ship-builders built and launched their ships and Italian sailors manned them; Italian mathematicians instructed their captains and Italian bankers supplied the venturesome undertakers with the necessary means. The trade which so suddenly had been cut off, when Constantinople was taken, as with the shears of Atropos, was seeking to renew and prolong its life. But it was no less significant that a prince of the remotest west of Europe, who united in himself the chief characteristics of the age,—a religious enthusiast, a military hero, a speculative philosopher, and a venturesome trader,—took in hand and systematically organized the efforts to find a release for the pent up traffic of the Mediterranean. That on the sacred promontory which men deemed the westernmost limit of the habitable earth Prince Henry of Portugal should erect an astronomical observatory, should “gather about him a school of men competent to teach and eager to learn the mysteries of map-making and of the art of navigation,” and thence year after year should send forth his captains and his fleets in quest of such a route to wealth and empire for Portugal, shows how consciously, deliberately, fearlessly men were resolving that the secret should at last be wrested from the grasp of the ocean, and that civilized humanity should enter upon its inheritance and appropriate to its uses every corner of the habitable globe, as well as every instrumentality which Nature had treasured up against the time of man’s need.

But not by a single effort was the secret to be won

“From its eternity of sleep
Within unfathomable gulfs of time.”

It is in the very nature of man’s relation to the world that he must appropriate and work into the fibre of his being by slow and steady assimilation every phase of the physical universe as it is slowly revealed to his intelligence. From the

time when Prince Henry, the navigator, erected his observatory and entered upon the work of his life (1418) to the time when Bartholomew Diaz brought the news to Lisbon that he had circumnavigated Africa and discovered the route to the east (1487) more than two generations of men had passed away, and many a voyage begun with the stoutest hopes had ended in failure and defeat. And when, in the midst of these repeated efforts the disappointing voyage of Santarem and Escobar (1471) seemed to prove that the coast of Africa was continuous toward the south and cut off all hope of reaching India and Cathay in that direction, but one thought was left to the expectant mariners to whom these voyages promised so much,—and that the startling thought that the voyage across the Atlantic might after all alone be practicable.

Among the men who were wrestling with this problem with so much courage and patient resolution, there was one who outranked all others in originality and the power and sweep of his imagination,—the only one who could seize upon that startling thought and live it into action. For it was at precisely this darkest juncture in Portuguese exploration in 1471 that Christopher Columbus dared to make his own and work for what through so many ages had been conceivable, but still was so alarming in its dreadful suggestiveness. And in him and his work the second chief cause of the discovery of America found its final result. Men may put upon his life and character what estimate they think reasonable and right, this much we must hold to be true: He did not stand alone, and his character and his acts were the offspring of the ages which produced him. If he proved “the despoiler of the new world,” if he left it a “legacy of devastation and crime,” if he showed himself to be a “rabid seeker for gold and a viceroyalty,” if “he gained the execrations of good angels,” and “gave his contemporaries an example of perverted belief,” it was in the very nature of things that all this should be so. The earthly cause which led to the discovery of America involved precisely such negations and inconsist-

encies as these. It involved the upheaval of European society and the shifting of its centre of action; it involved the bringing into play at one and the same time of gigantic characters in themselves of most uneven development, and of the most divergent and contrary tendencies in their mutual relations; and it involved the bringing up for readjustment all the accepted conventions of European political and religious life. From the time of the first faint trace of western adventure as we find it in the Mediterranean, and the hesitating conjectures and surmises of Aristotle and others, the philosophers and mathematicians of Europe, down to Columbus and his work, it was not only religious enthusiasm, nor only political sagacity, nor only commercial enterprise, nor only individual force and greed, which created the desire and conducted the quest for new lands and new sources of revenue in the West. Not one but all of these forces united and continuously modifying each other served to produce the variegated and contradictory personality and career of the illustrious Genoese. The age which grew such men as Dante, Savanorola, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin and Zwingli, and such monsters as Ezzelino, the Borgias, and the Farnesi, was, indeed, an age from which to expect the most heroic and the most atrocious deeds, the most ennobling and the most debasing lives,—an age in which to find diabolical craft and heavenly devotion united in the same character—almost in the same act. Our poor human nature, with all its deficiencies, its aspiring hopes, and its noble powers, was struggling towards its more perfect state, and, in the midst of its relapses and moral perversions, was more and more fully realizing its own essential grandeur in the abiding belief that “there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.”

For this is the sum of the matter: If man were not relative and imperfect, indefinite growth and progress in this life were impossible. Only because he is too great for the world in which he lives, but yet shut up within its limitations and subject to its conditions, his life is a life of repeated failures,—but

failures which grow by divine guidance of all that in him is divine into repeated successes. For only thus can he hope to reach

“ the ultimate angels’ law,
Indulging every instinct of the soul
There where law, life, joy, impulse are one thing.”

VII.

SIMON BAR-JONA: THE STONE AND THE ROCK.

BY MRS. T. C. PORTER.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

A FOUNDATION STONE.

"And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock * I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—St. Matt. xvi. 18.

SECTION I.

"Who shall declare His Generation?" †

"When Jesus came into the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I the Son of man am? And they said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets. He saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Considering the time and circumstances, it is easy to im-

* This sentence—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock"—is "one of the profoundest and most far-reaching prophetic, but, at the same time, one of the most controverted sayings of the Saviour.—*P. S. Lange's Com. p. 293.*

† "And who shall declare his generation?" "The words are difficult, but as rendered in the A. V. give a good sense; Who will enumerate Christ's posterity? *i. e.*, no one will; for His career was short and transient. He founded no high family on earth, no noble lineage like that of David. He bore the cross, and despised the shame, and then went back thither whence He came, to sit at God's right hand."—*Com. on O. T. Isaiah, liii. 8.*

agine with what anxiety the Master asked His disciples this most vital question—"Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am?" It was not long ("about a year") before His death. The feeling had spread widely among the Jews that their Messiah was at hand, and their chief priests and rulers were becoming more and more impressed by, and angered at, His monstrous, though as yet inferential, claim to be the Son of God, of one life, or substance, and eternal, with Jehovah.

All things were tending to the grand event of the great day of atonement—the slaying of the prophet Jesus, who, by many, was called "the Christ," What impression, He now asked the twelve, preparatory to a still greater question, had His teachings and works made upon the people at large. "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?"

"Some say that thou art John the Baptist: some, Elias; and others, Jeremias, or one of the prophets," answered the disciples. That was all. His miracles of teaching, of healing, even of raising the dead in His own name, had produced no greater effect on His countrymen than the far lesser miracles of the ancient prophets. They were hardened. Lifted above all other nations in having received the law "by the disposition of angels," they had not kept it, and now, raised again above the world in the gift and presence of the Messiah, they received not Him. To them, He was no more than Elias, or Jeremias, or one of the prophets! Being then no more, they could and would be influenced to put Him to death, as their fathers had killed those, for they were to fill up the measure of their iniquity in slaying Him. Such was the opinion of the populace. But the language of the disciples would have been very different, could they have reported the estimate of those in authority. These, in their private councils, had decided that a prophet, no matter how great his works might be, who could deviate from their watchword of "but one God," as they held it, and all which followed, was worthy of nothing short of death by crucifixion.

SECTION II.

"But whom say Ye that I Am?"

After meeting the repulse of the nation, generally, it can be readily understood with what far greater anxiety Jesus asked His disciples, "But whom say *ye* that I am?" "*Who*," or "*Whom*," He asked—not, *what* do ye say that I am. To ask them, at that time, *what* He was, would have been premature, for His work was not yet done. "Who," or rather (since "who" refers more to the individual, and what he has made of himself), "Whom," in the sense,—Of whose life or substance do I partake, He inquired. It is the *person* that gives character to the work, especially when that work—the redemption of many—is based on his life, and its derivation. And as Christ's disciples were soon to preach, equally, Him and His work, the two great questions for them to answer now, and first of all, were, "*Who* do ye say that I am," and *of* or *from* "Whom say ye that I am?"

Time was passing. He had many things to tell them which could not be imparted till formally assured of the light in which they regarded Him. His death so near, and by crucifixion; His resurrection, ascension, and the advent of the Spirit, all, were yet to be made known to them; and He waited but the words which should open His mouth. Would they speak? And, speaking, what would they say? Who should declare His generation?

Vain are the hopes set on men, even on those who love Him. They move not their lips; and the Son of Man silently appeals to His Father, by whom the revelation was to be made to Simon. Then looking steadfastly at this disciple, Simon meets the searching gaze, and quickly and boldly answers to the first question—"Who"—"Thou art the Christ," and to the second question—"Whom"—"the Son of the living God."

Faultless, and sparkling with heaven's own light, the pre-

cious truth rolled from his lips, but only to be quickly caught and set by the Master as the brightest jewel in His servant's martyr-crown. The rapture with which He received it, thrills in the eloquence and fervor of the benediction—"Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." And then he adds thereto His own personal assurance: "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Moreover, He is not content with this, but in exceeding joy lifts him above his fellows by a third and special blessing and reward: "And I will give unto *thee* the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." "*Whatsoever*," He said, even though it should reach, as the result showed, to that great, and then incredible work of closing the Jewish church and opening the Christian!

In that confession of Simon's there was far more than appears on its surface. Jesus always, and even at the judgment seat, called Himself "the Son of Man;" and this ground—His humanity—He never leaves, but standing immovably on it asks all believers to the end of time the same that He asked the apostles—"But whom say ye that I, *the Son of Man, am?*"

SECTION III.

"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."

"Thou art the Christ, the Son of God," (or promised Messiah) "which should come into the world," said Martha to Jesus. And, "Lord (Christ or Messiah), "if thou hadst been here my brother had not died," said both Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus. Such was their conception, then, of Christ's personality, even though Mary had chosen that "good part"—to sit as a learner at His feet. The woman of Samaria also had exalted views of the Jewish Messiah, for she

said to Jesus, "I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come he will tell us all things." And afterwards she went into the city, "and saith unto the men, Come, see a man which told me all things that ever I did: is not this the Christ?"

It was not possible for those women-disciples to know more at that time. The knowledge of Christ's eternal divinity was reserved for Simon Bar-Jona; and the revelation was to be made to him through the agency of that Spirit, or Breath, which blows when and where it lists, and can not be seen, nor heard, nor felt, but whose presence is made known by its heavenly fruits. And the abundant proof of this Spirit's presence in Simon's heart was his open acknowledgment (when the moment came for it) of Jesus as "the Son of the living" (and life-giving) "God." This confession rose as high above that of the women, and the opinion, perhaps, of most of the apostles at that period, as heaven is high above earth. Of course, when he spake those words clear-cut and bold, Peter was not aware of their height and depth. Possibly, he never was, in this world. All truth is revealed progressively, and the highest wonder of Christ's person was reserved for the disciple beloved (who was younger than the disciple who loved) to declare in his extreme old age, probably when his chosen companion had passed beyond this world.

Be that as it may, it is certain that all which has since developed out of Simon's confession, historically, was in it then, as the fruit is in the bud. Otherwise, the Messiah would not have accepted it so readily as the never-failing creed of the future. Nor would He have added, so unreservedly and emphatically—"And upon this rock I will build my church." Simon had confessed neither His atoning, nor mediating work, but solely His personality, and not all of that consciously, and yet because by so doing he disclosed that which was to be the very, or true, rock of His church, Christ pronounced him to be also Peter, a rock. The value of Simon's confession is not to be measured by his understanding of it. It

must be judged by the Lord's reception of it, and by what is embedded in St. John's gospel. This was penned "long after his other writings," and the only key to its mysteries is the truth underlying it—his doctrine of the eternal humanity of "the Word made flesh," or mortal. And, therefore, whilst Peter's confession can never be added to, it may be expanded and elucidated by the unfolding of that doctrine, which lies in it like a kernel in a nut. When the LORD incarnate declared that He would build His church on the living truth then buried in His own words—"the Son of Man," and in Peter's confession—"the Son of the *living* God"—that confession was complete, though still unavoidably dark and unfathomable.

Simon's conviction had not been reached by reasoning. If it had, he would never have confessed. Reasoning would have shown him, as it did the Pharisees and their rulers, who believed not on the Christ, what it involved. Neither, at that time, had he any distinct idea of the incarnation. But he must have had some true feeling of the eternity of the Messiah, even as Man, for he spake by the Holy Ghost. If he had not, he would have been unable to say so honestly and positively to Jesus standing on the ground of His humanity—"Thou" (the Son of Man) "art the Christ," and also, "the Son of the living" or (eternal and life-giving) "God." There was far more in Simon's confession than he was aware of, and therefore whilst the Messiah blessed him, "Satan desired to have him."

There must also have been the breath of a pause in Peter's confession, for it was a climax. It contains two distinct ideas. The last sentence is not a repetition, in other words, of the first. It expresses a wholly new or different idea. It is a rising above the first, occasioned by the fact that the Christ was twofold. As the Jewish Messiah, He was born of the Virgin by the agency of the Holy Ghost; for the angel said to Mary, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee"—for the purpose of creating Him of her life and substance. And because as "the Son of the living God" He was such by eternal

generation, the angel further said to Mary, "And the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee"—for the purpose of the Incarnation. The concluding words of the angelic messenger—"Therefore that Holy Thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God"—is a union of those two facts, and of those two announcements. The first proclaimed Jesus to be the created Son of Mary, and hence the Messiah of the Jews, called also "the Son of God," because created by "the Holy Ghost." The second proclaimed Him to be the uncreated Son of God, and hence the LORD of the Gentiles. And therefore He was further called "the Son of the living God," because He was from all eternity "the only begotten of the Father." The angel's words to the Virgin were also, like Simon's words to Christ, a climax. But it was for St. John to cap theirs by teaching, indirectly, that the incarnation of God the Word immortal in Jesus the man mortal, could only have been possible because He (the Word) was, from all eternity, likewise Man *essential*. The essences must be alike—in their quality, human, and in their form, triune, to constitute a true, and therefore a real and lasting incarnation such as Christ's. Of course the incarnation itself is an inscrutable mystery, only to be understood in glory, for then "shall we know, even as we also are known."

It was a rude awakening, therefore, for Peter to have at that juncture (his confession) and for the first time, the sure mortality of Jesus suddenly pressed on him in the words, "the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected of the elders, and of the chief priests, and scribes, and be *killed*, and after three days rise again." Just when rejoicing in the eternity of the Christ, he was called on to anticipate His death! And His death was to be a violent one, for Simon saw no further than the *killing*. The rising again on the third day came not within the scope of his vision. He was overcome by surprise and grief. Hence it was perfectly natural that he should take the Master "and rebuke Him," or, as it really is, "draw Him aside and remonstrate with Him." This, Jesus

admits, when, in addressing him particularly, He speaks vehemently to the tempter back of Simon, "Get thee behind me, Satan : thou art an offence unto me : for thou savorest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men."

SECTION IV.

"And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter."

In the words, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven," the Master was quick to recognize the source and author of Simon's conviction. And, in the words, "And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter," He made haste to acknowledge that the same life eternal was in him which was in Himself. No man, at that time, could have said that Jesus was the LORD, or Jehovah, but by the Holy Ghost. Therefore Peter, speaking thus, showed himself to be begotten of God, or, which is the same thing, regenerated by the Spirit. Hence the Messiah immediately pronounced him, too, a son of the living or eternal God : for "Both he that sanctifieth, and they that are sanctified, are all of One, for which cause He is not ashamed to call them brethren."

In the presence of all the disciples, Simon confessed the LORD. Therefore in their presence the Master confirmed to him his name of Peter in its deepest significance. Having declared that whosoever should own Him before men, He would own before His Father in heaven, He now fulfilled that promise as a pledge of the manner in which He will fulfill it hereafter. Then, He will not only acknowledge all true believers and confessors to be His children by name, but prove them to be such on revealing them to be like unto Himself in the glorious "manifestation of the sons of God."

He also gave to this disciple his new name publicly, that he might wear it thus, laying it never aside ; and, too, that he might not only be called it by others, but write himself—"PETER, an apostle of Jesus Christ." To James and John

He also gave a new and wonderful surname—"Boanerges, sons of thunder"—but they never wore theirs as did Simon his. Theirs was indicative only of character and qualities. His was declarative of the presence in him of that life by which all Christians, as such, exist. Peter was also called after the LORD's own highest *generic* name to signify that he, for his reward, should be the first (at Pentecost) to offer Christ's twofold life to men, in "the Gift of the Holy Ghost," and thereby bring many sons to God. For though this eternal life of Christ is, in His children, untransmissible as the life of the angels, yet His ministers the Lord permits to be called the spiritual fathers of those whom "in Christ Jesus they have begotten through the gospel."

And, moreover, He gave to Simon alone this surname of Peter, in all its significance, because he alone answered this greatest of all questions—"But whom say ye that I, *the Son of Man*, am?" On that most memorable occasion, twelve men stood before "the King of Israel" and "Teacher, sent from God," and He asked them all, "Whom say ye that I am?" Had all answered in chorus, or several simultaneously, or one for all, He would have as gladly responded, Blessed are ye, as "Blessed art *thou*;" Ye are Petri, as "Thou art Petrus;" Ye are men of the Rock, as "Thou art the man of the Rock;" Ye are sons of the living God, as "Thou art a son of the living God." None spake, save Simon only. And on him fell, unerringly, the honor of being called by that name of "Peter," which, in his wearing of it, the Lord chose should indicate one of the greatest glories of their Master—His ability to communicate, by the Spirit, His twofold life to others.

Simon replied not here for himself and brethren, as when he said, "*We* believe and are sure that thou art the Holy One of God," nor did he now, speaking for himself only, say, "I believe and am sure," as though it was with him merely a matter of belief or conviction. Not at all. As if fully possessed of an unmistakable knowledge, he answered, and said,

"Thou art the Son of the living God." He spake not like the scribes, but like the Master, as one having authority, for he spake by the Holy Ghost, and from His voice there is no appeal. In declaring, "Thou shalt be called Cephas, a Stone," the Master had intimated that Simon would also become, "Peter, a rock." It had been decreed that in order to confess it, he should be the first partaker of the Messiah's twofold life as He is both the everlasting Christ of the Jews and the eternal LORD of the Gentiles; and, therefore, the fulfillment of that decree He now publicly announces in the irrevocable words—"Thou *art* Peter."

And, finally,—"*Thou art Peter.*" All Christians are *petri* or rocks, through their generation of the incarnate LORD. All are the sons of the living God, because of their participation in His life eternal. But there is only one, who, in the personal name of "Peter," wears the title of "The Rock." No other Christian can be, in this sense, as he is, a *petrus*. Millions of men have crossed the ocean, but none can rank with him who made the first track on the pathless deep. So, countless numbers can repeat St. Peter's confession after him, but he is the only disciple with whom, by God's gracious will, it originated. Hence this life by being first in him, through the revelation of the Father, and confessed first by him, at the prompting of the Spirit, and acknowledged to be first in him, by the confirmation of the Son, makes him what no other of the apostles could be—the very first Rock or Foundation Stone of Christ's church—for *he*, Simon Bar-Jona (henceforward to be known as "Simon Peter"), had "declared His generation!"

"*Who* shall declare His generation?" Doubtless, Simon the fisherman had often heard those words of Isaiah concerning the Christ read in their synagogues. But who would have thought that by him, as Peter, they were destined to be fulfilled! Of all men, Simon himself did not. And who could have dreamed that a little band of apostles would be the beginning of the Messiah's own regenerating and renew-

ing? But what will the end of it be! Shall the sons of the second Adam be great or small in number? He laid down His life "a ransom for many." Did He take it up again to save but a few? The children of Christ's life shall be "a great multitude which no man can number," for "He shall see of the travail of His soul, and shall be satisfied." A handful will not content Him. Of the sons of the first and sinful Adam, who, by the Spirit, were regenerated of the last and sinless Adam, and who kept their birthright by quenching not the Spirit, St. John says* there will stand before the Lamb representatives "out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation." The whole Christian church is Christ's "high family," and all its true and faithful members are His "noble lineage."

SECTION V.

Neither Confession, nor the Teaching of the Spirit, nor the Messiah's natures human and divine, nor His essences as God and Man, nor Christ Himself, primarily, is "The Very Rock" on which He builds His Church.

"All Christians are Peters (or Rocks) on account of their confession." † And, "Confession is the Rock upon which Peter and all Peters are built," ‡ said Luther.

In trying to discover the true meaning of the sentence—"And upon this rock I will build my church"—and which is one of the most controverted sayings of the Saviour," it is necessary, first, to distinguish between the *visible* church and the *invisible*. The former is built *up* of confessors, and *on* their confession. Otherwise, it would not exist. To bring it into being, and

* Rev. v: 9.

† URIEL: By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D. Note on p. 74. "Alle Christen sind Petri um der Bekenntniss willen."—*Luther*.

‡ *Ibid*: Note on p. 79. "Das Bekenntniss ist der Fels, darauf Petrus und alle Petri gebauet sind."—*Luther*.

"Hence, also, the exhortation even of one of the Popes: "In vera fide persistite, et vitam vestram in petra ecclesiæ: hoc est, in confessione b. Petri."—*Gregory the Great*.

keep it alive, men must make a sincere and public avowal of their faith in Jesus and their intention to live as Christians. But, after this, the chances are against it, for finite man is also changeable. Something more than a frank and open and truthful acknowledgment of Christ is necessary to keep it steady. It must have, and it has, a sure foundation to rest upon. And this foundation is the *invisible* church. Christ was speaking more particularly of it, than of its superstructure—the visible—when He said, “And upon this *rock* I will build my church.”

Consider Peter and his noble confession of Christ. What did the latter avail the disciples who heard it, and perhaps assented, mentally, when the Messiah approved it? And what did it profit Simon himself when, after it, he denied the Lord? Or what support was it to him in his hour of trial? It was torn to pieces by the violence of that tempest. It was burnt to powder in the white heat of that crucible. He was obliged to make another confession to be restored to the church visible, but from the invisible he had not been cut off. It is true, his Christian consciousness had been well nigh slain by the tempter and his devices, but the hidden life within him, the life of “the Christ, the Son of the living God,” was revived as soon as “the LORD turned and looked upon him,” and Peter, remembering His words of warning, “went out and wept bitterly.” Upon no such unsteady foundation as the rock of confession does Christ, the master, build His *invisible* church. If He did, many a martyr would be condemned, who, through the weakness of the flesh, and the fierceness of the trial, has denied his faith when the root of it was yet in him.

Besides, not every one is in a position to confess Christ publicly. Sudden death, seclusion from society, or impassable distance may prevent it; and yet he is saved who under such circumstances confesses alone to his Maker, and puts his trust in Jesus. The Lord incarnate builds His church invisible on something surer and more attainable than a profession of faith

in Him, whether open, or private. No one could have made a better public confession of His person than Simon Bar-Jona did. It was earnest, sincere, and enlightened; so much so, that the Master accepted it as the creed of His church universal, and that forever. But if Peter could then have added to it an acknowledgment of Christ's work as a Saviour, and of himself as a sinner thoroughly lost, it would not have made him a member of His invisible church. He was already a member of that. And therefore for both these reasons—membership of the one, and confession to the other—the Messiah pronounced him His son.

Another writer declares that by "this rock," or "this foundation," is meant "God's work of revealing to His elect people the mystery of the incarnation." * But that mystery was made known to Simon Bar-Jona, and, as the Messiah assured him, by the Father Himself; and yet the revelation was entirely forgotten by Peter when the shadow of Christ's cross loomed up black and dreadful before him. God's work of revealing can also be resisted and denied. St. Paul was striving against his convictions that Jesus was God and the true Messiah, when Jesus called to him, "it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks," and he responded, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And a prophet can refuse to obey the command of God. The LORD ordered Jonah to go and cry against Nineveh, but Jonah fled to Tarshish, because unwilling to do God's work. Simon Peter, on the contrary, obeyed the voice of God in his soul, and was blessed because he spake frankly and fearlessly his honest conviction. Moreover, even when a man speaks by the Spirit, it is not always evidence that he is born again. Balaam and Caiaphas, each, prophesied truthfully, but neither was a servant of God. The Spirit spake through, and in spite of them; but when He spake by Peter, he spake with Him, concurrently.

But whilst neither Simon's conviction nor confession of

* "Jesus and The Coming Glory: or, Notes on Scripture." Page 158.—*Joel Jones, LL.D.*

Christ's twofold Sonship, suddenly made him a member of His church invisible (and to which Jesus was referring), it did disclose that he was one of God's "elect people." Therefore, in the words, "And thou art Peter," or, "Thou, too, art a rock," the Messiah virtually gave him the right hand of fellowship, and thus, formally, made him a member of the one church because he was already a member of the other. Not the readiness and fervor of his words, nor the cherished teaching of the Spirit, made Simon Bar-Jona, "Petros," a Christian. They were the result of his being such, and served to reveal it; and, therefore, in further adding—"And upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it"—the Master also promised to establish him upon this living rock firmly and forever. And this promise He was strictly fulfilling when He suffered Simon to be tempted, and to deny Him, and then, in his greatest extremity, restored him with a look—that look in which beamed the whole soul of the LORD, as with it He revived within him the Christian consciousness which had been overlaid and well-nigh smothered by fear.

If that other and greater work (regeneration) had not been wrought in Simon Bar-Jona, if he had not been born again, of God, and made a partaker of eternal life through Jesus Christ the LORD, he would never have confessed what he did. Nor, having denied Him, would he have ever been lifted out of that gulf of despair into which he had been plunged by the devil. Naught but that Divine and unconquerable life, restored in Peter, brought him again from the dead, and compelled him to cry, "LORD, thou knowest all things," whilst the corresponding life in the Master made Him rejoin, "Feed my sheep." And yet not even "the washing of regeneration" is enough to save a man. That is only the beginning of his Christian life, and an instantaneous act. After that, he needs daily, and to the end of his life, "the renewing of the Holy Ghost" for his sure salvation.

Still another declaration is that "this rock" on which the

Redeemer builds His church is "the natures, human and divine, which Peter confessed were united in Jesus Christ as He is man and God." But as the natures would be nothing without the essences accompanying, another instinctively advances by declaring that Christ's church is built on Christ Himself as He is believed and confessed to be both God and Man.* This is indeed true of Christ's visible church, one of whose articles of faith is that He is both God and man, but it will not apply to its foundation—the invisible. That is built upon something very different. It must be borne in mind that in the words, "And upon this rock I will build my church," the LORD incarnate is speaking as much, if not more, of the building of each church, as of the foundation of each. Hence, in so doing, He only incidentally reveals the rock which is to be the latter's last support. That Rock was not to be actually uncovered till the Day of Pentecost, and then by Peter himself to the whole world, in the words—"the Gift of the Holy Ghost."

Not upon His life as specially created man, dare it be said that Christ builds His church invisible, even though this life is also in a lower sense (than His incarnate life) divine, because created by the Holy Ghost. This only made Him the everlasting Messiah of the Jews, not the eternal LORD of the Gentiles. It made Him merely "the Stone of Israel," upon which was built His "Father's House," or church. But that church went down, and the Messiah with it, because of the mortality of His life there, and His character and office of a Saviour.

*Dr. Wordsworth thus paraphrases the words of the Saviour: "'I myself, now confessed by thee to be God and Man, am the Rock of the Church. This is the foundation on which it is built.' And because St. Peter had confessed Him as such, He says to St. Peter, 'Thou hast confessed Me, and I will now confess thee; thou hast owned Me, I will now own thee; thou art Peter; *i. e.*, thou art a lively stone, hewn out of, and built upon Me, the living Rock. Thou art a genuine *Petros* of Me, the divine *Petra*. And whosoever would be a lively stone, a *Peter*, must imitate thee in this thy true confession of Me the living Rock; for upon this *Rock*, that is, on *Myself*, believed and confessed to be both God and Man, I will build My Church.'—*Lange's Com. Note on page 297.*

That created life, too, will never appear in Him again, personally, except in His human form of body, which was the expression of it. Nor will it appear in any other way in His people. For, at their resurrection, their bodies shall be animated with His *immortal* human life, of which, up to that period, they had only been the heirs, but shall then become the actual inheritors of. Only in partaking of Christ's sinless mortal life at the desire of the Father, is the visible Christian church built upon, and so made to be a continuation of the Jewish. In every other respect, the invisible part of it was to have, and it has, a life and individuality or self-consciousness entirely its own. Its foundation was to be, and is, deeper and stronger than the Jewish. Yea, it is one which, even here, reaches into heaven, because it comes from thence and returns thence.

So then Christ's church *invisible* is not the outcome of the Jewish, nor built upon it. Neither is it built on His natures human and divine, nor on His essences human and divine. Much less then is it built on Peter as the confessor of Christ; and still less on Peter himself.* Nor is it built on Christ Himself, not only as He is "*believed and confessed* to be both God and Man," but as He really *is* both God and Man.

Besides, before it could be granted that the church *invisible* is built upon Him as He is "both God and Man," the *quality* of Christ's humanity would have to be determined. His divinity is acknowledged to be eternal. Is His humanity also eternal? This question now demands study and settlement,

*"Augustine at first referred the *petra* to the person of Peter. He says in his *Retractions*, i. cap. 21, at the close of his life: "I have somewhere said of St. Peter that the church is built upon him as rock. . . . But I have since frequently said that the word of the Lord: 'Thou art *Petrus*, and on this *petra* I will build my church,' must be understood of Him, whom Peter confessed as the Son of the living God; and Peter, so named after this rock, represents the person of the church, which is founded on this rock and has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. For it was not said to him: 'Thou art a rock' (*petra*), but, 'Thou art Peter' (*Petrus*); and the rock was Christ, through confession of whom Simon received the name of Peter. Yet the reader may decide which of the two interpretations is the more probable."—*Lange's Com. Note on page 296.*

for the shoulders must be equally strong that uphold His invisible and ever-enduring church.

As what "Son of Man," then, did Jesus possess, and claim, and exercise undeputed and inherent "power on earth to forgive sins," that power, which, the scribes said truly, belonged to God alone? Surely not as the created Son of man, as the Jews understood Him to mean! No wonder that they, hearing those words, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," and witnessing that miracle of confirmation, "Rise up and walk," "reasoned in their hearts:"* "Why doth this *man* thus speak blasphemies? Who can forgive sins but God only?"

The question then is, As *what* Son of man did the Messiah say of Himself to the Jews (and to their amazement): "No *man* hath ascended up to Heaven but He *that came down from heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven?*"* Christ was not, as Jesus the mortal Son of man, in heaven then, nor did He, as *such*, come down from heaven. Therefore to say, with some, that He was predicating this being in heaven, then, of His Divine nature *only*, is to separate His humanity and Divinity, which may never be done. Or, to say with others, that the created humanity of Christ was so one with the (uncreated) Divinity, that, by the force of that oneness, He was even then in heaven as our mortal Son of man, is to confound or mix together His humanity and Divinity, which also may never be done.

"What and if ye shall see *the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?*"† the Messiah asked. Before what? Evidently, before His coming down into the world, or previous to the incarnation. But Jesus, the created and mortal Son of man, was not in existence before the incarnation. What Son of Man, then, was in existence before that event, and came down from heaven at that period? "*Who* is this Son of Man?" was the puzzled question of the Jews; and, "*Whom* say ye that I the Son of Man am?" was the all-important query Jesus put to His disciples. Christ could not speak

* St. John iii. 13.

† St. John vi. 62.

more plainly to the Jews at that time and say this Son of Man is the same as the Son of God eternal. He could only adhere to His words—"What and if ye shall see the Son of Man ascend up where He was before?"

Now, however, since all is revealed, the question, "Who is this Son of man?" may be asked; and the answer made—Not Jesus born of our humanity. *He* had no existence prior to the moment of His conception by the Holy Ghost; and in the divine ordering of our salvation could not ascend to heaven till He had become *immortal*. He was the time-created Son of the Virgin, and her true Son, too, bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh; for the angel said to her: "Hail, Mary, *thou* art highly favored" . . . "behold *thou* shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a Son, and shalt call His name Jesus." * This name signified His office, and so here meant the promised Saviour; for the angel said to Joseph, "He shall save His people from their sins." † But because this conception was to be brought about by the Holy Ghost coming upon her, Jesus, that Holy Thing which should *be born of her*, was not to be called *her* Son, but, as the angel further said, "the Son of God," which in this place means the specially created Son of God. To have called Him continually "the Son of Mary," might have suggested to a scoffing populace His virgin-birth. Better to let Him be known by them, deridingly, as "the Son of Joseph," the carpenter.

At the Annunciation, the deepest meaning of the succeeding words of the angel—"And the Power of the Highest shall overshadow thee"—could not have been open to Mary, for the fact of the Incarnation was to be gradually unfolded, and proved by Jesus Himself. The knowledge of that might have hindered her in the motherly duty of chiding Him, when twelve years old, for remaining with the doctors of the law in the temple at her husband's and her departure from Jerusalem. And it would most assuredly have prevented her from dictating to Christ at the marriage in Cana of Galilee,

* St. Luke i. 28-35.

† St. Matt. i. 21.

when He was "about thirty years of age," and on the point of beginning His public ministry. That she was the mother of the Messiah so long looked for, who was to save His people from their sins, was happiness enough for her:—"Behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed!" * But she was also to become, gradually, "The Mother of Sorrows," as He was to be "a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief."

The words, "where He (the Son of Man) was before," and "came down from heaven," and "is in heaven," spoken by Christ of Himself, whilst yet mortal, could only have been predicated of Him as He was also the eternal and omnipresent Son of Man, or Jehovah incarnate; who was then, is now, and always will be "in the bosom of the Father," as His "only begotten Son," and who alone "hath declared Him." But not even such humanity and divinity, such God and Man—uncreated and eternal—can be proposed as (because it is not) the real rock of Christ's church *invisible*.

Nor, last of all, is "this rock," primarily, Christ Himself. It is true, the Rock in the wilderness, which Moses smote, represented Him. But of what was the water that flowed from that rock, (and followed the children of Israel to keep them from perishing), a real, though faint and shadowy type, under the old dispensation? Did it not hint the communicability of the life of Jehovah, now known, under the new dispensation, as the One Triune God? And yet, even the com-

• "Blessed, blessed evermore,
With her virgin lips she kissed,
With her arms and to her breast,
She embraced the Babe divine,
The Babe divine the virgin mother.
There lives not on this ring of earth
A mortal who can sing her praise.
Mighty mother, virgin pure,
In the darkness of the night,
For us she bore the heavenly Lord."

Translated by *Coleridge* from a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels by the German Ottfried (A. D. 776-856).

municable power of God's life is not the "very," or identical, rock of Christ's church invisible. What then is?

Nothing less than *the actual and constant communication of that Life* to all true and faithful believers, whether they be ignorant, or cognizant, of this supreme fact that it is really imparted to them.

SECTION VI.

"This Rock."

When the high priest adjured Jesus, "by the living God," to tell them whether He were "the Christ, the Son of God," He answered, "Thou sayest," and "I am." Now to those replies, the Jews would have raised no objection had they understood their prisoner to claim no more than that He was the *created* Son of God, or true Messiah; for they taught that of all created life Jehovah was the author. It was the sense in which He used them (begotten) that evoked their ire. First, He intimated by them that God's life and man's was alike; whereas, whilst man's was communicable, God's, they maintained, was not. Therefore Jesus was a heretic, and not the veritable Christ, as He claimed to be; and so they rejected Him. Second, He declared on oath, that He, who had a beginning, and "whose father and mother they knew," * was not only the *begotten*, but the *eternally* begotten "Son of the living God." This was blasphemy of the highest kind, and this determined them to put Him to a cruel and shameful death.

The Jews of Messiah's day knew nothing of the incarnation, and still less of God, and of man, as a trinity in unity. They supposed, and held, the life of Jehovah to be like the life of the angels—incommunicable. But Jehovah is neither an angel nor a spirit.† He is man, in essence, or, which is the same thing, His life is triune and communicable. "In the

* St. John vi. 42.

† "God is a Spirit." Rather, "God is Spirit,"—not one among many spirits, but in His nature and essence *Spirit*."—*Com. on N. T., St. John, iv. 24.*

beginning" He revealed it to be such by creating man's life, in those respects, after the pattern of His own—"Let *us* (Father, Son and Spirit) "make *man* in *our* image, after *our* likeness. So God" (the Triune God) "created man in His own image" (a trinity in unity) "in the image of God created He him." * "For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," should, according to good authority, be rendered," a little lower than God." †

Those Jews had lost sight of the dignity of man in his original creation. Then he was the reflector, complete and perfect, of God's life, and consequently dominion was given him over all the works of God's hand. But man fell, and the whole natural creation with him. It suited the Jews to shut their eyes to these facts, and ignore Eden and Adam. They chose to trace their descent no farther back than Abraham on the plain of Mamre. "We be Abraham's seed," they said to Christ, and with his blood they imagined they inherited his righteousness. All other men were sinners, but they needed no Saviour. Hence all the many new and advanced doctrines of Jesus were offensive to them; whilst His proffers of life, "everlasting" and "eternal," were madness and blasphemy. They knew that the angels were not a race, but each a separate and independent creation. In that respect they deemed their life superior to man's, and a copy of Jehovah's. But "unto which of the angels said He at any time," "Thou art my *Son*, this day have I *begotten* thee?" Only to the Christ as man could He say it, and not till His resurrection, at which He, through that begetting, returned from the grave immortal. And therefore at this second bringing Him into

• Gen. i. 27.

† "A little lower than the angels." Better, "a little lower than God," *i. e.*, than the Divine nature, with reference to his creation in the image of God (Gen. i. 27).

"Thou sett'st him where is little space,
'Twixt him and powers divine" (*Keble*).

The English Version is taken from the Greek, which is followed in Heb. ii. 9; but the original word, *Elohim*, never occurs in the sense of "angels."—*Com. on O. T., Psalm viii. 5.*

the world, the Father also said, as at the first (the incarnation), "Let all the angels of God worship Him;" because He was, what they are not, man made in the image of God.

Man is an advance on the angels. They are the representatives of God's unity and His life as it was, under the old dispensation, incommunicable. But man is the representative of His trinity, and His life as it is, under the new dispensation, communicable. Only after the resurrection, will Christians be "as the angels of God who neither marry nor are given in marriage." But then they will further be what the angels never can be—the representatives of God's trinity in unity, and so, complete in Him, and in themselves as His images.

Three grand charges against the Messiah were really hidden under that one accusation of the Jews—"He made Himself the Son of God." All of them were condemnable heresies, and each called for death. They were not presented to Pilate, because they came not within his province, and they had already been determined by the church as represented by the council of the Sanhedrin and the high priest.

These charges were, first, That the life of Jehovah was communicable. Second, That it had been communicated to Himself. And third, That it was in His power to communicate it, by the Spirit, to others. And these three, now established as cardinal doctrines of the Christian Church, Christ and Peter, each, really did confess. The Messiah did so, plainly, in His preaching, and incidentally at his trial. And Peter did so for the first time, and indirectly, when to the question of Jesus: "But whom say ye that I (the Son of Man) am?" he answered, "Thou (as such) art the Son of the living God."

There is equal virtue in Peter's use of the word "Son," here, and the word "living." As Christ apprehended and accepted them, the former, "Son," means Son *generative*, as well as generated. And the latter, "living," means life-giving God. "Thou hast the words of eternal life," was the great attraction to St. Peter, when "many of His disciples," offended at the doctrine Jesus presented in the synagogue at Capernaum,

“went back and walked no more with Him” And though at that time Peter and his brethren may have meant by “the *words* of eternal life,” no more than the *promise* of such life hereafter, and thus occasioned little joy in the heart of their Master, yet those words, more than His miracles, induced them to adhere to Jesus and believe in Him as the true Messiah.

This peculiar significance of St. Peter's answer,—the life-giving Son of the life-giving God,—made Jesus exclaim so rapturously: “Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.” That significance caused Him to say, as it may be paraphrased—This “living,” or eternal human life, which, in my Father, is communicable to me, His Son, and which in me is generative, and now incarnate in order to be given to man—This “living” or “eternal life” as it is inseparably united to my created human life as sinless man, “the Holy One of God,” and which, with it, is by the Spirit conveyed to all believers who abide in me—This life actually and unceasingly communicated to them in this world,* is the very, the true, the unfailing rock upon which I will build my church universal and invisible: and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”

What, indeed, would it have availed man that his life was created in the image of God's life, human, triune and indestructible, had God's been incommunicable? Sinless, man could never have become immortal, and sinful, he could never have been redeemed. But being, whether sinless or sinful, alive forever, all his happiness depends on the fact that God's life is, in power, as communicable as his own. But what would even this avail man, were it not, further, by him *attainable*? For after all, its *actual communication* rests with the will of God. Of this He has not left man in doubt nor ignorance—“God our Saviour will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the

* “These things have I written unto you” . . . “that ye may know that ye *have* eternal life.” I John v. 13.

truth." * "And the Spirit and the Bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely." †

But men are free agents, though enslaved by sin, and can refuse to go to God; and He will not force them to accept salvation. They can even, as St. Paul with exquisite irony told his countrymen, "judge themselves unworthy of eternal life." "Ye will not come unto me that ye might have life," said Christ to the Jews. But this aside. That "water of life" is the only real support of Christ's Church invisible. To it, it is constantly communicated by the Spirit. It is the life of Jehovah. And it flows alone by His will; for "the children of God" are "born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." ‡

And yet still further back than this reaches the salvation of man. God's will is prompted by His love. Love caused Him to open this "pure river of the water of life," and invite all men, "whosoever," to partake of it. "For God so *loved* the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life." Love moved Him to create man; and when he had fallen, love moved Him to redeem him. And therefore St. John writes, as if it was His very essence and being—"God is LOVE."

* I Tim. ii. 3, 4.

† Rev. xxii. 17.

‡ St. John i. 13.

VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

IMPARTIAL INVESTIGATION INTO THE REASONABLENESS OF THE DOCTRINES OF CHRISTIANITY. By Prof. E. Schultz. Pp. 264. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society.

This book is divided into eleven chapters with the following headings: The Question—What about God—The Story of the Fall of Man—What is Salvation—Christ the God-Man—Christ the Logos—Christ the Sacrifice—Christ's Continual Presence—Spiritual Existences—Prophecies and their Interpretation—The Higher Criticism.

These topics are discussed in a manner which indicates wide reading and no ordinary degree of ability for philosophical thinking. The author's method is to bring the leading doctrines of Christianity into comparison with the teaching of the latest science and philosophy, and to show that there is no irreconcilable contradiction between them. Herbert Spencer's doctrine of evolution, it is maintained, if consistently interpreted, does not contradict the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, understood in their Biblical sense. This statement may evoke an incredulous smile from some readers; and the writer himself is free to confess that from some of the positions assumed in the book he dissents; nevertheless, a careful perusal of its pages will show that the discrepancy is not as wide as usually believed.

The author's position is not that the Bible teaches just the same doctrines that are taught by modern science. He holds, on the contrary, that the Bible teaches no science at all. "The Bible is written and inspired for the sole purpose of saving mankind from sin and its consequences, and to open up and show them the way how to come to God, or, as Christ expresses it, how to enter into His kingdom. Whatever does not bear on this subject is not a subject for inspiration, and is alien from the object of the Bible." No labor, accordingly, is wasted in trying to prove, for example, that the word *yom*, in the first chapter of Genesis, means an indefinite period of time, and that the six days of creation are intended to denote geological eras, after the manner of the ordinary modern harmonist. To this principle, however, the author is, in our opinion, not always faithful. Thus, for example, he treats the history

of the fall, in the third chapter of Genesis, not as a *myth* in which a primitive age expressed its idea of the origin of evil, but as an *allegory*, the object of which is to describe the beginning of sin quite in the sense of the modern evolutionist. In this connection we would express our dissent also from the theory advanced in regard to the natural condition of the human will. That Luther's doctrine concerning the total moral inability of the natural man, advanced in his tract *De Servo Arbitrio*, can easily enough be harmonized with the modern doctrine of evolution, we are quite ready to admit; but that this is the doctrine of the Bible on the subject we do not believe.

On the subjects of Christology and Soteriology the author is in accord with the general tendency of the "new theology." Anselm's treatment of the atonement, which the author believes rightly to involve tritheism, is given up; and the death of Christ is said to be "a sacrifice by means of which God's infinite love becomes a possession of man." The object of the death of Christ is not to change God's disposition towards man, which is always that of love, but "to bring man to repentance."

In order to show the author's style and indicate some of his leading philosophical principles, we quote the following sentences concerning the origin of human personality: "Immaterial force, invisible power, is the ultimate of all things. This force is the equivalent and carrier of sensation, feeling, consciousness, in a dispersed, impersonified manner. The personification of this consciousness, so as to become self-consciousness, a knowing and feeling human intelligence, takes place by means of the union and harmonious co operation of many forces in one orderly and intimately united whole, so that each part partakes of the sensation of every other part." The divine personality is accounted for in the following manner: "All nature is one intimately united and connected whole, according to certain, definite and invariable laws. . . . There is, therefore, an indissoluble sympathy and conscious connection between every part of nature, which in man becomes self-consciousness, and which in the central unit of all power, God, must of necessity also be a personal consciousness; for it unites all feeling, all knowledge and all consciousness in itself."

Without offering any comments on the above, which the reader can make for himself, we quote but one more sentence, in which the general basis of prophecy is indicated: "If human knowledge, personality and self-consciousness is the result of a special organization within that general consciousness whose centre, source and life is God, must it not necessarily follow that the knowledge and the act of God must become the knowledge and act of man, as soon as his personal powers are sufficiently harmonized and perfected in themselves, to respond to the influence of that central consciousness whence they proceed?" According to this, then, the condition of

propheic inspiration is the perfectly normal condition of all men, and all men are prophets in possibility.

In the last chapter, on the Higher Criticism, the author states that the violent opposition which has manifested itself in so many quarters against this latest theological discipline is simply due to the natural unwillingness on the part of all men to change their minds or habits. The majority of those who cry out the loudest against the Higher Criticism are men who have neither the opportunity nor the ability to know what it is all about. Our denominational Christianity, the author holds, is not favorable to large and liberal theological scholarship. The professors in the theological seminaries are bound by denominational traditions which they must respect on peril of their official life. And so it happens "that from the lands where religious freedom is not the law, the impulse has gone forth to change and enlarge the church doctrines of that country where, from excess of freedom, people are binding themselves down to hard and immovable lines of thought and forms of doctrine."

We believe that many will find this book a profitable study; we say *study*, because the style, which is not always as clear as it might be, as well as the nature of its contents, will make a more rapid perusal unprofitable. It remains only, in conclusion, to say that the preface is dated at Wellersburg, which is a small village in the mountains of Somerset County, Pa., where the author, who is a Lutheran minister, was at the time it was written pastor of a charge. There is a lesson in that, too. Here is a thinker and scholar of the first class immured in an obscure mountain village!

W. R.

MEXICO IN TRANSITION FROM THE POWER OF POLITICAL ROMANISM TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY. By William Butler, D.D. Illustrated. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1892. Price, \$2.00.

There is a strong Protestant bias in this work and a large portion of it is occupied in describing the part which the Pope and the Roman Church took to impede and destroy the efforts of the Mexican people to establish and maintain Republican Institutions in their country.

But the author gives a connected and interesting history of Mexico, dwelling mostly upon that history during the period of the efforts to place Maximilian upon the throne. It brings out in vivid colors the leading part which Napoleon III. took in these efforts. It was during our Civil War, when the prospects of the Union were darkest, that Napoleon began to plot against republicanism in Mexico, with the apparent design of counteracting the influence of the U. S. The Empress Eugenie, it would seem, was "the power behind the throne," whilst she, it is said, was under the

influence of her Jesuit confessor. Poor Maximilian and Carlotta were the instruments employed to carry out the design of Napoleon. It is within the memory of many now living, how Carlotta returned alone to Europe to seek aid for her unfortunate husband, and lost her mind under her trouble and disappointment, while Maximilian was tried, condemned and shot.

Juarez was the Mexican patriot who, as the legally appointed president, finally delivered his country from the power of her enemies, to whom Victor Hugo wrote on the 20th of June, 1867: "America has two heroes, Lincoln and thee—Lincoln, by whom slavery has died, and thee, by whom liberty has lived. Mexico has been saved by a principle, by a man. Thou art that man."

When, at the close of our war, the President sent a Corps of the veteran army to the border under Gen. Sheridan, Secretary Seward requested Napoleon to withdraw his forces from Mexico, and the request was promptly obeyed.

What part Pope Pius IX. took in this affair may be gathered in part from the terms in which he addressed Jefferson Davis, as "Illustrious and Honorable President," and in referring to "the rulers of the other peoples of America," the Pope spoke of them as "Lincoln & Co."

The work thus revives recollections of the tragic events connected with our Civil War, whilst it gives a vivid history of Mexico in restoring Juarez to his position and power as the rightful president of that country. The style in which the work is written is excellent, the illustrations are also very good, and altogether the book is worthy of a place in any good library.

INGERSOLL UNDER THE MICROSCOPE. By J. M. Buckley, D.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1892.

A tract of 36 pages, purporting to be a reply to some of the attacks of Col. Ingersoll on Christianity. We can hardly think that Col. Ingersoll is worthy of the notice he has received. His attacks are *ad captandum* satire and witticism, without any earnest effort to consider its merits. The mind that can deny common sense to the millions of adherents of Christianity, including the most intelligent and upright of all classes of society, must be lacking itself in some necessary elements of soundness. Of its kind, the tract possesses some interest.

THEOLOGICAL PROPÆDEUTIC. A General Introduction to the Study of Theology, etc., Part I. By Philip Schaff, D.D., LL. D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1892.

In his preface the author says of this volume, "It answers the purposes of a map for orientation. Formal Encyclopædia, Methodology and Bibliography are here combined. It is the first original work on *Propædeutic* in America."

Those who as students listened to Dr. Schaff's lectures on Encyclopædia in the Theological Seminary at Mercersburg in former years will be able to form an idea of what is included in this work. The subject is comparatively new in American Theological Seminaries, except so far as it is included in Old and New Testament Introduction. Our space does not allow of any extensive notice in this number of the Review, as we have already included more pages than usually belong to a single number. This remark must apply also to the brief notice we give of the author's seventh volume of Church History.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. By Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary. New York, Vol. VII. *Modern Christianity: The Swiss Reformation.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892.

Although this is entitled the seventh volume of the author's great work on Church History, the fifth volume is still unpublished, which comprehends the second portion of the Middle Ages. The author says in his preface that "two or three more volumes will be necessary to bring the history down to the present time, according to the original plan." We regret very much that the Modern Period since the Reformation, especially that covering the great struggle in Germany with rationalism and the rise of the great systems of philosophy there cannot be given to the world by Dr. Schaff, but he pathetically remarks at the close of his Preface, "How many works remain unfinished in this world!" The great work of the author's preceptor and colleague, "the father of Modern Church History," Dr. Neander, remained unfinished at his death. Dr. Schaff's work reaches farther than that of Neander, covering, in addition, the Protestant Reformation. We have room only to add now and here that the present volume is fully up, in ability and interest, to the volumes that have preceded it. For our Reformed Church it possesses a peculiar interest in that it gives the history of the Swiss Reformation, conducted largely by Ulrich Zwingli, one of the fathers of the Reformed Church.

A certain sadness gathers around the completion of this volume, as we read in a postscript to the preface the following pathetic words: "The above Preface was ready for the printer, and the book nearly finished, when, on the 15th of July last, I was suddenly interrupted by a stroke of paralysis at Lake Mohonk (where I spent the summer); but, in the good providence of God, my health has been nearly recovered. My experience is recorded in the 103d Psalm of thanksgiving and praise."

None who witnessed it will ever forget the scene presented at the meeting of the Synod in Lancaster, when the great Church Historian, in bodily weakness, with lips trembling with deep emotion, and a glowing heart, delivered what may prove to be his farewell to the

Reformed Church. May he yet enjoy the "Indian Summer" of his useful life, to which he frequently referred in private conversation!

THE PRINCIPLES OF ETHICS. By Borden P. Bowne, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. New York: Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square. 1892. Price, \$1.75.

This volume, as is indicated by its title, is devoted to the discussion of the fundamental ideas and principles of Ethics. It is a work of decided merit, and deserves the attention of all students of moral science. Among the subjects considered are: the Fundamental Moral Ideas and their Order, the Good, the Need of a Subjective Standard, Subjective Ethics, Development in Morals, Moral Responsibility, Ethics and Religion, Ethics of the Individual, the Ethics of the Family, and the Ethics of Society. The treatment of all these subjects is remarkably clear and acute, and very suggestive. The work throughout is intensely interesting and highly instructive. The leading ideas of the work are that in a working system of ethics the principles of the intuitive and the experience school must be united, and that not abstract virtue but fullness and richness of life is the proper aim of conduct.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By Newman Smyth. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1892. Price, \$2.50.

The object of this volume is not like that of Prof. Bowne to discover the true philosophy of virtue, but to bring to adequate interpretation the Christian consciousness of life. The work forms parts of the series known as the "International Theological Library," of which Dr. Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," was the first volume to be issued. Its contents are divided into two parts. The first part treats of the Christian Ideal, and the second of Christian Duties. In the first part are considered the revelation of the Christian ideal, the contents of the Christian ideal, the realization of the moral ideal, forms in which the Christian ideal is to be realized, methods of the progressive realization of the Christian ideal, and the spheres in which the Christian ideal is to be realized; in the second part are discussed the Christian conscience, duties toward self as a moral end, duties toward others as moral ends, the social problem of Christian duties, duties toward God, and the Christian moral motive power. It is scarcely necessary to say that the volume is a truly valuable contribution to ethical science as both the name of the author and the series to which it belongs are a guarantee of this. It is proper, however, to say that it has the merit not only of being rich in thought, but also of presenting thought in a very striking and attractive form. We heartily commend the work to the attention of all our readers.

THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D.D., Vol. XVII. Hosea-Malachi. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1892. Price, \$1.50.

This is the concluding volume of Dr. Parker's pastoral notes on the Old Testament. In merit it is fully equal to the volumes that have preceded it. There are two more volumes on the New Testament to follow, and then the series will be completed.

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday-school Lessons for 1893, including Original and Selected Expositions, Plans of Instruction, Illustrative Anecdotes, Practical Applications, Archæological Notes, Pictures, Diagrams. By Jesse L. Hurlbut, D.D., and Robert R. Doherty, Ph.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1892. Price, \$1.25.

This is one of the very best of the various volumes published for the use of Sunday-school teachers. Any teacher possessing these Notes and studying them carefully will be well informed with reference to the lessons for the present year and abundantly supplied with material to impart interesting and profitable instruction. There ought to be a large demand for the work.

QUEST AND VISION. Essays in Life and Literature. By W. J. Dawson, author of the Church of To-morrow. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1892. Price, 90 cents.

This is an interesting and instructive volume of essays. The subjects treated of are Shelley, Wordsworth and his Message, Religious Doubts and Modern Poetry, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, George Eliot, George Meredith, and the Poetry of Despair. The essays are all possessed of a high order of merit and will be found very entertaining reading.

THE BISHOP'S CONVERSION. By Ellen Blackman Maxwell. With an Introduction by James M. Thoburn, Missionary Bishop for India, and Malaysia. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1892. Price, \$1.50.

The object of this story is to give a true account of the nature of missionary work and to correct misapprehensions concerning it. The author, Mrs. Maxwell, speaks from experience, having seen much and served well in the missionary field. Many of the incidents used in the course of her story are, it is said, recitals of actual occurrences and by no means the creation of the imagination alone. The book is not only entertaining but also gives much useful information. It ought to have a place in every Sunday-school library.

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. By the Rev. G. T. Stokes, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin and Vicar of All Saints, Blackrock. Vol. II. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1892. Price, \$1.50.

In this volume Professor Stokes completes his admirable exposi-

tion of the Acts of the Apostles for "The Expositor's Bible." Those who have the first volume will of course want this volume also. Those who have neither should purchase both, as the work is possessed of superior merit, and will prove a valuable addition to any library. Ministers, especially, will find it very suggestive. To Sunday school teachers it will be of great service in the study of the International Sunday-school Lessons for the third quarter of the present year.

FROM THE PULPIT TO THE PALM BRANCH. A Memorial of C. H. Spurgeon. Sequel to the Sketch of his Life entitled, "From the Usher's Desk to the Tabernacle Pulpit." Five Memorial Sermons by Rev. A. T. Pierson, D.D. Descriptive Accounts of Mr. Spurgeon's Long Illness and Partial Recovery; His Last Month at Mentone, including Verbatim Reports of the Last Two Addresses given by Him and the Last Two Articles He wrote. With the Official Report of the Services in Connection with his Funeral. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1892. Price, \$1.25.

This work is fully described by the contents of its title-page. It is an interesting volume, and will be especially welcomed by the many admirers of the great preacher who lately passed from among us. It is a fitting tribute to his memory.

THE STORY OF JOHN G. PATON. Told for Young Folks; or Thirty Years among South Sea Cannibals. By the Rev. James Paton, B.A. With Forty-five full-page Illustrations by James Finnemore. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1892. Price, \$1.50.

This book gives an exceedingly interesting account of missionary labor, and presents conclusive proof that the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. It is a book which should find a place in every Sunday school library, and be generally read by the young and the old. The story is one of true heroism, and can scarcely fail to promote heroic action.

THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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I.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST—THE SUPREME TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY.

BY PROF. T. G. APPLE, D.D., LL.D.

THE central truth of all Christ's teaching was Himself, His person and character. In this He differed from all other religious teachers. They taught a system of truth as something apart from their personality. They were heralds of truth which they claimed to be in some sense inspired, to be from God, but they did not claim themselves to be the original source of the truth. They did not claim to be more than human, but acknowledged themselves to be partakers of the frailties and imperfections that pertain to all other men. Jesus Christ not only taught the truth, but He claimed to be the source of the truth, yea, to be Himself the truth. The main purpose of His ministry in the world was to make Himself known to men and to be believed in by men in order that they might be saved. All His other teaching was subordinate to this, and constantly led up to this. This is the purpose of the four gospels, to make

Him known through His life, His words and His works. In the Synoptists the writers begin with His human origin and lead up to His divine nature as the Son of God, whereas St. John begins by asserting his divine nature, and then the manifestation of His divinity through His humanity.

This assertion of His divine-human person, as the God-man, and Saviour of the world, is mainly *the* truth to which He refers when He says, "If I speak the truth why do ye not believe me?"

Any one who will read the context in St. John, from the beginning of the sixth chapter on to the tenth, must see that through all those chapters, and those wonderful discourses, our Saviour is seeking to make Himself known, to tell the people who He is, and what He is. He appeals to them as one sent from God, and in that character not testifying from Himself but from the Father. But He makes this appeal, not as an ordinary human messenger, but as the Son of God, and as being Himself equal with God. In various ways He enforces this great truth, now calling Himself the bread of life that came down from heaven, then the Good Shepherd who came to lay down His life for the sheep. The Jews resisted His claims and continued asking Him, who art Thou? Knowing their unbelief, and their purpose to entangle Him, so that in some way they might trump up a charge against Him, He charges them with not knowing God, whom they professed to know, and finally with being children of the devil whom they have chosen as their father by their opposition to the only true and living God.

It is while engaged in this controversy that our Saviour makes the challenge: "Which of you convinceth Me of sin; and if I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?" (St. John 8: 46.) In these words He enforces His claim to be believed by referring to His sinless character. He could not be a deceiver because He bore a perfect moral character. If worldly ambition might lead some men to claim to be what they were not, such a charge could not hold against Him, because He was

free from all sin. The theory that this claim of Christ was invented after the death of Christ by His disciples is not consistent with the attitude they occupied before His death, for they did not then believe in the resurrection, but resisted belief in it until they were overcome by the overwhelming evidence. Besides it was not within the ability of the disciples to invent a scheme of Christ such as the Scriptures present. It is entirely original and unique, differing widely from that of the apocryphal gospels which were prepared after the notions of men.

Neither will the theory hold that Christ mistook and over-rated Himself. For any mere man to claim to be the Son of God, in the sense of being one with, and equal to, the Father, who would come in the clouds of heaven to judge the quick and the dead, would be such a stupendous infatuation that any one making it must have been either out of his mind, or else an arch-deceiver. But who that has read His life can say that of Christ. He showed the utmost wisdom and self-possession. He was sinless even by the silent admission of His bitterest enemies. Writers like Renan and Huxley admit that He was a wise teacher and a model man. But this He could not have been if He was so grossly infatuated as to think He was God yet being only a man. No, He either was what He claimed to be, or else He was *not* a sensible and good man as these writers consider Him. The Son of God or nothing.

Many, however, who even believe in Christ make His *teaching* central in their belief and conception rather than His person. They place the chief merit of Christianity in the system of truth Jesus taught. The sermon on the mount is taken as embodying a moral code, and this is the chief thing to be preached. Christ came, they suppose, to put aside the errors that had crept in and beclouded men's faith and knowledge, and to present the truth as regards our duty to God and our fellow-men. Or, rising even above this, some give this central place to "the religion of Christ" as embodied in His teaching and example. He is held up as the perfect model for imitation. To imitate Him is to be Christ-like, and to be like Christ is to be a Christian.

But even this falls far short of the truth. Christ is far more than merely a teacher of the truth, He is far more than merely a perfect example to men.

He claims to be the source of life to those who believe on Him. He creates men anew, He prepares a kingdom for them. He is to come again to judge the world, and to receive His people to Himself in heaven to dwell with Him forever. So far as man's condemnation is concerned He gave Himself a sacrifice upon the cross to satisfy the claims of divine justice and redeem man from the curse of the law. From which it clearly appears that man's salvation centres rather in what Christ is as the God-man, and what He does to save the world. This is the burden of all His teaching. Everything He says directly or indirectly points thus to Himself. If men come to know Him and truly believe in Him they are saved, if they reject Him they will be lost.

We distinguish even between what He is and what He does. The central act, or work, for man's redemption was His death on the cross, but His person is more than His death. His death derives its significance from the character of His person. Moreover He became incarnate, not merely to redeem man, but to reveal God to man, and to be to Him the perpetual source of eternal life. Hence the incarnation is a deeper, more far-reaching mystery than even His death. All that He became and did grew out of that mysterious union of the divine and human that took place in His incarnation.

Moreover we must distinguish Christ from a doctrine of Christ. This seems so plain that it might be considered unnecessary to name it; yet there have been times when this distinction was overlooked. In the Scholastic period of Protestantism, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, true and sound doctrine was sometimes put in the place of Christ Himself. A man's Christian character was largely judged by his orthodoxy. The Scriptures were regarded as a treasury of proof-texts by which to support orthodox doctrine. Sound doctrine is, indeed, highly important and necessary for the

maintenance of Christianity, but it is not the chief matter in the Christian religion. A man may believe in Christ savingly, and yet have but a vague conception of the doctrine of the person of Christ, and, on the other hand, he may have a correct conception of true doctrine and yet be lacking in true faith.

Not only must the person of Christ be central in Christianity, but confessions and theologies must be constructed or organized, with reference to this central truth, *i. e.*, Christianity must be Christological as well as Christocentric.

Let us examine this point a little further. At the time of the Reformation Protestantism put forward two leading principles, which though central in Protestantism were not central in Christianity. These principles were the Scriptures, the only infallible rule of faith and practice, the *formal* principle, and justification by faith alone, the *material* principle. It was natural that these should be emphasized. The Lutheran theology, so far as it followed Luther, tended rather to emphasize the material principle, the Reformed, the formal principle, whilst both Lutheran and Reformed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took extreme ground for a time in reference to the inspiration of the Scriptures. The doctrine of inspiration was made central in theology. Not only was everything made to depend upon the inspiration of the Scriptures, but upon a particular theory of this inspiration. If this fell Christianity would fall with it. Every sentence, word, and letter of the Bible, even the vowel points, were inspired.


But, now, suppose it should come to pass that the New Testament is only a credible history, and that apart from the material substance of the truths of revelation it may contain errors, would that endanger the existence of Christianity? Would not Christ still live as the head of the Church and the fountain of life to all true believers? Did not the Church exist for twenty years after Christ left the earth without a written revelation of the New Testament in the form of a canon, during which time it was dependent on tradition along with Scripture? And could it be claimed that this tradition, or the writings then

existing, was at all points entirely free from error as it circulated throughout the Church? Even with the Apostles' supervision, error might here and there creep in. Much more, for several hundred years after the Apostles' day, and before the New Testament canon was defined, was there not the danger of error? But did not the Church, at the same time, meet and overcome the error? And with the history of the New Testament, viewed merely as credible, could not the Church now maintain its existence.

We do not ask these questions with a view to cast any doubt upon the inspiration of the New Testament, but merely to show that a doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures is not so essential, so central, that without it Christ would no longer exist and Christianity perish. It seems, indeed, like asking whether the stars and planets would cease to exist, or the sun to shine, if a theory of astronomy were overthrown.

The same may be said of the doctrine of justification by faith alone. It is an important doctrine, but it is not central in theology. When too much emphasis is laid upon it, as when, for instance, as in the case of Luther, it is made to sit in judgment upon the inspiration of Scripture, there is danger, simply because the guidance of Scripture must go along with the light of Christian consciousness.

If it were a question touching the person of Christ that is now agitating the theological world through the higher criticism; if, for example, His divinity were denied, then we might feel that the foundations of the Christian faith were being jeopardized, but surely no such danger need be apprehended from a discussion of the character of the Bible. So far as higher criticism takes rationalistic ground, denying all that is supernatural in Scripture, it should, indeed, be opposed as a deadly enemy, but where it holds firmly to Christ as the Son of God, and the revelation contained in Scripture as inspired, the discussion surely cannot disturb the Christian faith, and should be judged and met by scholarship, not by discipline.

I know it will be said that the character of Christ, 

divinity, must stand or fall with the inspiration of the Scriptures, but this I do not think can be maintained, for there is abundant testimony in the New Testament history, viewed merely as history, to authenticate the divine-human character of the person of Christ. The New Testament certainly is inspired. No one who believes in Christ, and the advent of the Holy Spirit, doubts that. We may go further, I think, and say that such men as Dr. Briggs and Prof. Smith believe that the writers were inspired in a special sense, as compared with ordinary members of the Church, but this would not necessarily imply that it was impossible to err on points that did not form a part of revelation. What we aim at in this apparent digression is to show that a distinction should be made between what is the essential, central truth of Christianity, and that which is subordinate; and that a minor doctrine, however important, should not be made central, whether in confession or in theology. And in what we have said of Dr. Briggs and Prof. Smith we have no question here as to their relation to the Westminster Confession. It may be that that Confession itself is at fault; certainly it is going through a process of revision. But there is a broader *consensus* of Protestant confessions, and this allows a measure of freedom to the investigations and discussions of the Higher Criticism. The light of investigation cannot harm the Scriptures, much less Christianity. We repeat, as Christianity in its concrete character is Christocentric, confession and theology in their scientific character must become Christological.

II.

THE SUPREME DUTY OF MEN WHO HEAR THE GOSPEL IS TO
BELIEVE IN CHRIST.

Our Saviour asks, "Why do ye not believe me?" implying that no valid reason can be given for not believing Him, and hence that it is a duty to believe Him. We call it the supreme duty of man because it rises in importance, if a comparison of duties may be allowed, above all other duties.

What is faith? and how can it be a duty to have faith in Christ?

Faith in Christ includes two conceptions, one, that it is an apprehension of the supernatural mystery of His person, and the other, that it implies sincere and hearty trust (*fiducia*) in Him. Faith is the spiritual activity, or organ, that apprehends supernatural reality, or truth. If God comes into humanity, as it is claimed He does in the person of Christ, it requires faith to see and recognize Him. We have knowledge of natural objects around us by the natural understanding through the senses. We have knowledge of generalized, or abstract, truth through the logical reason, and through the intuitions of the reason. The apprehension implied in faith includes the moral and spiritual in man as well as the intellectual, as in the apprehension of goodness. To know, or recognize a good man implies an affiliation for the good in us. Where the moral sensibilities are blunted such apprehension is weak, or may disappear. In the case of those who came in contact with Christ some spiritual sympathy or affiliation with absolute goodness and truth was necessary in order to recognize the divine in Him. St. Peter had witnessed His miracles as evidence of the Saviour's supernatural power, he had listened to His words of wondrous wisdom, and back of all this he saw a personality that impressed him as being more than human. Now when he was challenged by the Lord, "Who say ye that I am?" it was Peter's faith that led him to reply, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." He, and his fellow-disciples for whom he answered, saw in Christ what others did not see. It was not by natural sight, nor by a process of logical reasoning, but by a direct intuition, a direct spiritual sense, that he recognized the divine in Christ. And this waking up of his spiritual powers required a special divine influence from God. Hence Christ said, "Flesh and blood" (*i. e.*, your merely natural powers) "hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven." Moses had faith when, as it is said, "He endured as seeing him who is invisible." This function of faith is referred to in Hebrews

Chap. 11: 1. "Now faith is the substantiation" (the making real) "of things hoped for, the evidence" (or conviction) "of things not seen."

But there is another function of faith in Christ which consists of full hearty trust in Him. It is like the confidence and trust reposed in a physician when we entrust our life into his hands. When the disciples cut loose from all earthly foundations and committed themselves entirely to the guidance of Christ for the life that now is and that which is to come, they had faith in Him. So every one, realizing his lost condition by nature, who comes to Christ in the way He has appointed and reposes his all into the hands of Christ, binding himself to follow His commandments, has faith in Him.

The two, of course, go together in one act. One must recognize the divine in Christ in order to trust in Him as God. This spiritual sight differs from mere knowledge. It is not, at first at least, intellectually defined. Such faith is consistent with a very imperfect intellectual knowledge of the constitution of Christ's person. The disciples had no theological definitions on this subject, such as came forward in the Nicene Creed, or the Christological creed of Chalcedon. They awaited the coming of the Holy Spirit to cast His light upon this mystery, and even then it continued to be more a direct spiritual vision than a definition of the understanding.

Man's first and highest duty here is, not so much to know the right doctrine in regard to Christ; this is important in its place, but it is to believe in Him. The confession contained in the Apostles' Creed is sufficient. In the apostolic Church the first confession was very brief. The Jews were carefully instructed in religious truth, the truth of the Old Testament. To this they needed only to add, "I believe that Christ is the Son of God," as in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch. This faith then needed to be guarded both from impiety and from error, practically and theoretically, and so Christological controversies arose and Christological definitions were given.

How can faith be a duty? A man cannot, nay ought not, it

is said, force himself to believe anything. If there is sufficient evidence he will, he must, believe; but to believe without such evidence is mere credulity or superstition. But there is a difference between a mathematical truth and a moral or spiritual truth; belief in the former does not indeed depend on knowledge, but the latter requires a direct apprehension of a different character. Take the problem before us, the presence of God in human form. God in the person of His Son, the second person of the Trinity, condescends to be born into the world in a miraculous way of a virgin. As He advances in life the presence of His divinity is manifested in word and deed. How are men to know that Jesus of Nazareth is the Son of God? Evidently a spiritual discernment, which we call faith, here is necessary. Is there in Him more of goodness and truth than can be found in a mere man? Does He show a divine power in His miraculous works, a more than human wisdom in His words, a more than merely human charity in His whole life? Where prejudice against Him ruled as in the case of many of the Jews, they would judge Him an impostor. The faculty to discern between the true and the false depends on certain conditions. Our Saviour declared that if His hearers were of God they would hear His words. But here comes in a moral obligation. It is a duty to be of God, to be in sympathy with immaculate goodness and truth, and to be drawn to it in faith. No mere logical proof will serve here. It depends on character, and the difference in character involves moral obligation. Some men follow corrupt leaders and reject others that are true and good; certainly in this they condemn themselves. What could God do more to reveal Himself than He did in Jesus Christ? He appeared there as a perfect man, He displayed the attributes of supernatural power, and goodness, and truth. Jesus declared He was without sin and, therefore, it was a duty to believe Him. He said He came to save them from their sins, and if they rejected Him they would die in their sins. Were they not bound to believe His words and trust in Him for salvation? Yes, above every other duty, we say, it was their duty

to believe in Him, and then through faith they would be led into greater, clearer, knowledge of Him. And this now leads to a third point.

III.

Man's supreme sin consists in rejecting Christ. Sin has degrees of guilt, because it has degrees of development. *Nemo repente turpissimus.* All sin starts in the principle of selfishness. At first this principle reveals itself in seeking mere pleasure, and that which lies nearest to the physical nature, in the misuse and abuse of the bodily appetites and desires. But as man's being develops he comes into higher relations, into more spiritual relations, and then sin takes a more spiritual character, as pride, ambition, avarice, &c. Finally sin becomes a ground principle of character as a confirmed love of sin as sin. As Mephistopheles in Faust, the individual says, "Evil be thou my good."

But sin also depends in its development on the measure of light revealed in the soul. The highest form of divine revelation is that made to the world in the person of Christ, and therefore to reject Him is the worst form of sin. The heathen sin against the light of nature and the light of conscience. They have no full apprehension of God, of goodness and truth as revealed from God. But Christianity is founded upon one who reveals God in all His fullness. The picture of goodness and truth in Christ is perfect.

This is illustrated in the enemies of Christ. It only required to draw them out in order to discover that their hearts were full of falsehood and anger and malice and murder. So long as Christ made no demands upon them they could pass Him by, but when He pressed home upon them their duty to believe on Him they began to resist. The more He enjoined duty the more they resisted and rebelled, until at last, when they could not answer Him they called Him a blasphemer, one possessed of a devil. If Christ was what He claimed to be then these men cursed God to His face, and what greater crime could they

commit? Yet there was a still deeper crime that they could commit, viz., the sin against the Holy Ghost, towards which they were advancing. They were as yet blinded by their bitter prejudices, and consequently did not know him. There was sin in this ignorance, for they ought to have known Him. Still He prayed, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." But when the Spirit came and shed still greater light upon men's minds and hearts, then the danger of rejecting Christ became greater.

Now Christ lays obligation upon all who hear His gospel to believe on Him. They cannot stand neutral, or indifferent. They cannot go their way and say they will accept their destiny in indifference towards Christ. Sooner or later they are confronted with the obligations of Christianity. Christ demands a choice, either an acceptance or a rejection of Him. And when this choice culminates in rejection it carries with it positive hatred of the good in such way as to make those who reject Him the bitter enemies of Christ. In Christ there is the highest revelation of God, and therefore when men reject Him they sin against the highest light, and thus commit the greatest sin.

The sin here is rejecting Christ, but there are degrees even in this sin, that is, it presses on to a culmination in which the subject becomes conscious that he is deliberately and willfully ranging himself against God in Christ. In this world there may be a possibility of recovering from it as the conscience becomes awakened to its enormity. But when once the influence of the Holy Spirit is persistently resisted, and the soul enters the other world, the time of opportunity, of probation, is closed. But even there sin reaches greater degrees of development, and the end of it is such opposition to Christ as leads to a positive hatred of Him and an acceptance of this attitude as the individual's position. It is said the time is coming when every knee shall bow and every tongue confess that Jesus is the Lord. In the parable of the sheep and the goats it appears that not till the judgment did the righteous know that their

charity to their fellow men here on earth involved acts of piety and devotion to Christ Himself, nor the wicked that their withholding of such charity was a rejection of Christ. We do not pretend to understand this parable fully. In some respects it appears to refer to the judgment of the Gentiles and their unconscious acceptance and rejection of Christ. But whatever may be thought of this, the Scriptures do represent the final judgment as the goal, when a culmination will be reached in the characters of men. What part will be performed in the intermediate state towards this culmination we do not pretend to say, but this one point we think may be asserted, viz., that there comes a time in the development of every one who rejects Christ, when he knows that he is rejecting Him against better light and knowledge, and when he accepts this determination as a persistent enemy of Christ. Even if this point in some should be reached after death and before or at the final judgment, it does not necessarily raise the question of a probation beyond death, but it refers only to a development after death.

We may add a word yet in regard to the Apologetics of the Church, the Evidences of Christianity, which the Christological principle requires. The old Apologetic that struggled in England against Deism in the Eighteenth century proved itself insufficient. The argument based upon prophecy and miracle was not sufficient. So, too, the defence made to rest on the inspiration of the Scriptures could not bear the weight that has been made to rest upon it. The question at last turns upon the person of Christ, and the arguments He employed to authenticate His character and mission must be repeated. Does Christ say the truth? that is the challenge made to the world. If His life and character, His words and works, as these are handed down to us in credible history, and in the faith of the Church, are not sufficient to lead men to believe on Him, there is no argument that can reach them. But just here there is room for the Church to strengthen its Apology. The strongest argument, it is said, is the strongest statement. The life of Christ must be studied and set forth in its true character. The two fundamen-

tal heresies, Ebionism and Gnosticism, still strive in different ways to obscure to men's minds the perfect revelation made in Christ. Each of these errors continually tends to beget the other. The divinity of Christ may be represented in such a way as to render His true humanity a mere appearance, a magical phantom. This, then, begets the tendency to emphasize His human nature, the real brotherhood of man which is realized in Christ. But when this tendency is carried out in a one-sided way it may reach a mere humanitarian conception of Him, of the diluted "Robert Elsemere type," or some other form of Unitarianism. But this leaves the great problem of the union of God and man unsolved, places God forever beyond our reach, and so leaves the world without a true and sufficient Saviour. This seems to have been seen when Strauss in Germany made his attack on the central stronghold of Christianity, the person of Christ. He seems to feel that in order to weaken the faith of the Church in the supernatural character of Christ, it was necessary to account for the representation, or conception of Him contained in the Scriptures, and he invented the "Mythical theory," viz., that the image of our Saviour came in by gradual growth as the myths in heathen mythology. This was followed by Renán with his romantic theory, and these two attempts to undermine the Christian faith then called forth a number of "Lives of Christ," and a better apology than that which had rested merely upon a theory of the inspiration of Scripture. Here the battle between belief and unbelief must be finally fought out. That picture of a divine-human Saviour stands before us in the writings of the New Testament. How did it get there? Strauss says it is a myth, but that was not a mythological age; it was an age of the most mature civilization and learning, and culture, when an acute and searching criticism shed its light upon all that the writings of the New Testament set forth. Renán says Christ misunderstood Himself, and substituted a romantic misconception of Himself for the reality. But who that reads His life, His words and His works, can for a moment think that this was possible? And so the words still

challenge the world, “If I say the truth, why do ye not believe me?”

But even the strongest and best argument, or apology, that can be presented from the Christological standpoint, in order to accomplish its purpose, must be joined to the practical exhibition of the Church's faith in its own life and works. It was the rise of pietism in Germany that called attention to the defect there. The age was one in which the Church presented a dead formalism and orthodoxy to the world instead of a life of charity and good works. And when the apology against Deism in England revealed its weakness, the rise of Methodism accomplished more than theoretical argument to disarm the enemies of the truth. One of the strongest evidences of the truth of Christianity, therefore, is the great work it has done for the welfare of mankind. As in its earliest ages it overcame the opposition of the great Roman Empire by the higher and better life it presented, so in all the ages since it has accomplished more than all other religions for lifting the fallen race to a higher sphere in all that pertains to man's true happiness. But that which stands behind this all, and gives it constant support against all opposition is the Spirit of the great founder, the divine human person of the Lord Jesus Christ. His image reflected from His millions of followers in every age is the light of the world. That true light will continue to shine until the world shall be bathed in its brightness, the darkness of sin and error shall be forever banished, and His kingdom shall be established from the rivers unto the ends of the earth.

II.

THE ARGUMENT FOR CHRISTIANITY FROM TENDENCY: SYMPTOSIS.

BY PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, RUTGERS COLLEGE.

THE claim of Christianity is that if the doctrines of its Founder were completely obeyed, and, as a consequence, embodied in the lives of His followers, sin would disappear and suffering its inevitable attendant cease. If then it can be shown that in proportion as this obedience is realized, in the same degree sin and misery vanish, it is legitimate reasoning to infer that if these doctrines were completely obeyed the full effect of their operation, whose tendency is seen to continue as far as we are permitted to follow its course, would be to introduce a life of perfect happiness. Now this life of perfect happiness is that which Divine Revelation declares to be both the aim and effect of its teachings. If the principle of Philosophy is valid which asserts that the effect is contained in the cause, the consequent becomes proof equal to demonstration for the truth of the antecedent. The Symptotic Argument, as we may be permitted to call this line of reasoning, is one which combines the *a priori* method with the deductions of experience. Hence, as it rests upon both the Deductive and Inductive methods combined which are the foundations of all trustworthy knowledge, we are warranted in applying it to the Evidences of Christianity.

The law of Causation is admitted to be the chief corner-stone of Philosophy, and its assumption in every form of discursive reasoning is so necessary, that its rejection is tantamount to the suppression of all scientific investigation. If a cause in opera-

tion must produce some effect, the question next is, what will be the fruits of its action? To discover this we have to consider the material acted upon, the amount and direction of the force, and the design in view. If the material be uniform, the direction in which the power acts invariable, and the design pursued with constancy, whatever effects we can see at one time resulting will perpetually continue, unless some extraneous influence interfere. This principle is admitted without qualification in Mechanics. Given a body set in motion by an external force acting in a certain direction. The tendency is to a perpetual motion in a right line, and this would be realized were it not for the resistance of the air and other obstacles, united with friction. Remove the air from the receiver, and as the exhaustion approaches a vacuum, the power say of attraction shows an increasing tendency to assert itself. Diminish friction and we increase in exact proportion the distance that the body will traverse in a given time. Though we cannot quite exhaust the receiver, nor get rid of friction entirely, yet the tendency witnessed in the movement of bodies according to these conditions leads men of science to hold, with unshaken confidence, that the total annihilation of resistance would insure perpetual motion in the right line of the power. Thus experience leads to the same conclusion which reasoning from the known effects of mechanical laws compels us to admit when arguing *a priori*.

There is an analogous state of things in man's moral nature. We see the object to be acted upon is corrupt and wretched human character. The force to act is the power of rational motives to influence the conduct of man. The direction in which they act is always to elevate his thoughts and purify his heart. The design which originates and directs these motives is to diminish suffering and increase happiness by restoring man to his true position of harmony with his surroundings, and obedience to his rightful Sovereign. Now what is the result, as far as we have been able to see the workings? It is of two kinds: internal, witnessed by consciousness, and external

testified to by experience. We know by proof immediate, and therefore unassailable, that when we have yielded to moral motives, when we have done what is just and good, we have that rational satisfaction which is greater than any other earthly happiness. We have seen by an unvarying experience that it went well with us when we honored the commands of Him who placed the moral law within our hearts, and published a more perfect copy of the same in His revealed word. On the contrary, this failure to obey this moral law to the extent we understood it, and had the ability to fulfill its requirements, caused an uneasiness which prevented us from enjoying external prosperity, however great the means for it we might possess. If it be said that depraved men enjoy to the full the pleasures of sense, and are not troubled by any apprehensions of the consequences, this can be so only by brutalizing themselves so far that they are no longer worthy the name of man. The objector is welcome to all the comfort he can derive from the reasoning and experience of Ulysses' ingenuous companion who refused to be re-transformed back from a swine to a man.

Moreover, we have found that there is a clear connection between the duty enjoined by the Divine Law and our success in this life, which testifies to the fact that the moral and physical co-ordinates obey the same rule, and co-operate toward the same end. Not merely the internal quiet and comfort, which of themselves are above all price, but success in our calling—the approval of right thinking men, and the co-operation of those who are good with the course of nature—in a word, all things working together distinctly for a beneficent end, prove by different lines converging the same theory. What we have observed in ourselves is also paralleled in our experience with others. We have seen them amenable to influences for good. When our conduct towards them was dictated by kindness, fairness, and a sincere desire for their best interests, we saw them swayed by these motives as surely as physical forces impel the material universe. So the history of the world as embodied in the actions of men considered individually, or acting in concert,

show that they are subject to moral influences. In every instance while the effect of motives can be clearly seen yet this is not of forces acting on dead matter, nor followed by invariable results. Our wills can accept or reject by a power of their own. For even when the clearest reasons have been given for a certain line of conduct, we have wilfully taken another course.

Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor.

Yet this in no way contravenes the truth of our position which is, that when the law of God is obeyed it purifies and ennobles human character. The fact that there are obstacles interposed which hinder the legitimate effect has no bearing as against the proof derived from Symptosis. We can look for no effect from moral motives when they are not exerted, or when stronger sinister forces counteract them.

But it is constantly objected that those who profess most vehemently to be guided by what they term the Divine Law are themselves essentially bad. They are hypocritical, and only make a pretence of being better than others in order the more easily to carry out their wicked purposes. Yet this is unconsciously yielding the whole argument. There is a grim humor in unbelievers calling bad men who are nominally Christians, hypocrites. If hypocrites, what do they profess? Is it vice, and such acts in general as irreligion permits without protest; or is it that virtue which is sanctioned by and made the basis of revealed religion? If they profess vice and practice it, they are not hypocrites; because they are bad and live up to their profession. It is because a man professes a doctrine that calls for a better life than he lives that he is justly called a hypocrite; yet by a glaring absurdity the doctrine which he does not obey is made responsible for his failure. It avails nothing whatever against our argument that men do not fully embody in their life the doctrines of Christianity they profess. What is material to this theory is that the doctrine, just so far as it is conscientiously believed and honestly obeyed, effects its

avowed purpose by redeeming man body and soul from sin and all its consequences. If the hypocrite does not obey the law of his profession, and thereby becomes a disgrace to himself and a scandal to the Church which is burdened by his presence, this certainly does not disprove the truth of the doctrine that a good tree brings forth good fruit. The Founder of Christianity declared prophetically that there would be false professors of His doctrine; that they would vex the Church by their presence and be obstacles to its progress. Thus it is not merely the hostility of the natural man which must be met by the Gospel of Divine grace, but the enemy of all good is active with his emissaries who come among the faithful as traitors to betray them. This is one of the obstacles which were foretold, and must be counted upon in any reckoning of the forces to be overcome by revealed truth. Had it not been foretold by the Founder of the Christian Church His followers might be disheartened by the necessity of fighting an enemy inside its walls. But in any case the doctrine itself cannot be blamed for the caricature which bad men make of it.

It is often claimed that the culture and morals of the world are not due to Christianity, or any revealed religion, but to the recuperative power which humanity has within itself. It is not proposed to discuss the question whether man has this recuperative power or not. If it be allied in its effects with that which revelation asserts to come from the direct influence of the Divine Spirit, it must also be allied in its origin. The force which draws the apple to the earth is discovered to be a portion of the same energy which holds the world in its orbit. Both are perceived to be the same in origin because they work in the same way and accomplish a like result. So, if the recuperative power be the law of God written in the heart for the purpose of accusing or excusing, if it be a capacity, however derived, it must in the start come from Him who as Creator bestowed the means for progress. The two influences for man's reformation cannot be antagonistic if they have the same end in view; and the fact that they work in the same direction

prove their common source. He that is for the same objects for which Christ labored cannot be opposed to Him. Hence, if it be argued that man has a self-restorative principle which is constantly working for his elevation and will eventually accomplish it; that the moral ideas of humanity work persistently in a fixed direction, and, despite of obstacles which prevent the speedy consummation, still they will prevail in the end, this can with more justice be predicated of Christianity. For there is not a single virtue recognized by those who advocate man's self-regenerating power, which is not taught by the revealed will of God with greater distinctness, earnestness, and persistence. Whatever, then, humanity illuminated by natural religion can claim, Christianity may in an immeasurably higher degree. There can be no contention with any system, or any reformer whose sincere object is to elevate man in purity of heart and uprightness of conduct. For whether doubters accept the doctrines of Christianity or not, it is evident that every good influence must come from the same source, just as all power in the material world. He that doeth good must be from God is a dictate of natural reason as well as a declaration of the revealed Word.

• But the question is of tendency towards a particular result. It is plain that the more comprehensive and cogent the influences be, and the less they are diverted from their main object, the more effectual will be their work. If a part of those doctrines which believers accept can renovate the world in the developments of ages, then more of the same truths, and enunciated with greater distinctness, will do the work sooner. For if the whole nature be enlisted in any service man certainly will do more and better work than by a partial consecration of his powers. Christianity demands all, and will accept nothing less. The affections, the will, and the intellect are subsidized by the doctrines of Jesus Christ who taught theoretically and illustrated practically that He came not to do His own will but the will of the Father who sent Him. Bishop Butler says in a passage of marvellous beauty, (*Analogy*, Part I. Chap. III.)

“God has by our reason, given us to see a peculiar connexion in the several parts of this scheme, and a tendency towards the completion of it, arising out of the very nature of virtue; which tendency is to be considered as somewhat moral in the essential constitution of things.”

Now if it be found that when a man conforms to the Divine law in one particular he increases his own happiness and that of all about him, and as he becomes more under the influence of the same doctrine his capacity and power for good increases, the inference is irresistible that if he were wholly consecrated, then all his energies would be efficient for happiness actively and passively. And if this were the case with each individual, as the number of those thus consecrated to the work of doing good increased, the amount of suffering would diminish until at last it would be reduced to a minimum and entirely disappear. For it is plain to any thoughtful person that vice produces poverty, sickness and wretchedness in every form; that these go on multiplying themselves, involving the innocent with the guilty; that they beget their like, and thus are perpetuated until they cast their blight over entire families and nations. It is easy to see the results of heredity. Exceptions may now and then occur where a bad man springs from a virtuous parentage; and vice versâ, where a noble character emerges from a depraved environment. But in neither case are these characters developed from the practice of their opposites. The bad man does not become so by imitating the virtues of his family; nor the good man grow into this character by continuing in the courses which have depraved his race. The evident tendency of virtuous conduct cannot be denied; and we are justified in maintaining that if this approach to perfect rectitude of heart and life were continued as Revelation directs it would completely renovate the life on earth. And every candid observer will see that those believers who have most completely identified themselves with all the doctrines of their creed, not selecting from these according to arbitrary choice, but taking all the body of doctrine as found in Revelation, have approached nearest to the

ideal standard of excellence. Each has many imperfections still which no one knows so well as himself. But his purpose is right in the main, and the results attained testify to the genuineness of his profession, and the ultimate tendency of his guiding principles. While imperfection is written on all human effort, the discrepancy is not greater between the guiding principles in morals and their realization in life, than it is between the invariable laws of exact science and the application which the most capable thinkers have effected. The tendency is as evident in the one as the other, and proves the absolute truth in their respective spheres of human action.

The counter tendency of Departure, *Apoptosis*, can be observed with equal clearness. Complaints are made against the Gospel and Creeds because they fail of accomplishing at once the renovation of the world. The cry, "Superstition and bigoted orthodoxy," is raised. The doctrines of the Gospel are caricatured till they cannot be recognized, and then all the infidel pack is unleashed to hunt them down. Such is the perversity of human nature that the most beneficent doctrines and the most unselfish benefactors are despised and persecuted. Wrong motives are attributed to them, and the good achieved among men is effected by those who are not guided by any rational principle in their action. For those who oppose the truths of religion say: It matters not what a man believes provided his conduct be right—as though conviction and conduct could be divorced without destroying the symmetry of human character! Particular doctrines are exhibited in a repulsive light by dis severing them from their connections, or giving them an interpretation the reverse of their honest signification and the sense in which their professors accept them. The plain teachings of revelation are derided as old-fashioned. The world is declared to have outgrown the effete superstitions which might do well enough for it during its infancy, or for the ignorant and feeble-minded. Such an ultra position is not perhaps reached at a bound. There is a gradual swerving from the strictness of orthodoxy. One by one of its doctrines is surren-

dered until at last there remains nothing of the original belief. The Bible history is flippantly pronounced untrustworthy, though in the face of the clearest cumulative testimony from advancing historical researches. Its science is ridiculed as erroneous, while none really is taught, and allusions made to it only incidentally. The leading characters are shown to be faulty by a standard which would not be possible except for the effect which its doctrines have brought about in human character. Besides, the disclosure of their faults is an evidence both of candor in the narrative, and confidence in the strength of a system which is not afraid to expose its own weak places. The Gospel narratives are pronounced myths; the miracles either pure inventions after the facts to account for them, or magic to create a false basis for belief. The doctrines of faith and morals being inseparably connected with the persons and history, are false if these are false; and so a clean sweep is made of Revelation, Church and Creed. But, along with this destructive criticism, we see a departure in conduct moving *pari passu*. For looseness in morals is inseparably connected with indifference in doctrine. If there is no fear of punishment for the wrong doer, there is as surely no reward for virtuous actions. The restraints which the ordinances of the Church impose upon all who honestly follow its teachings are broken through, and we have the outrageous claim that persons of exalted genius cannot be expected to be coerced by conditions under which ordinary minds must submit. So, what would be vile adultery in the humble peasant, is Platonic love and sublimated friendship in those whose mental powers place them above the Moral Law. The marriage bond, which the teachings of Christ declare holy and indissoluble, is pronounced a tyranny which may be shaken off at pleasure whenever it becomes burdensome; and a new alliance, sanctified neither by the rites of a despised church, nor the dictates of common decency, may be entered into by Stuart Mill or George Eliot. These are as fair examples as can be found anywhere among those who deride creeds and oppose the Bible. Despite their many excellencies, their

intellectual strength, and their advocacy of right living always when this did not encroach upon their own indulgence, they were guilty of offences against the laws of marriage which were scandalous—yet justified by the perpetrators as right in themselves, and upheld by their admirers as perfectly allowable. But the prevalence of such practices would utterly ruin society by destroying the sanctity of the family, and make man the slave of brutal passions. If it be said that many of the leading characters in Holy Writ were guilty of like crimes, the answer is easy. The Bible distinctly condemns them, and denounces punishment against the same, whether it be King David on the throne, or the humble slave. It deprecates the scandal brought upon religion by its friends, and declares that these wicked acts are the result of a departure from its teachings. It is outspoken in its denunciation of those who, while professing its doctrines fail to practice them, and in no possible way shields the offender. Yet these same persons who condemn Scriptural characters who are guilty, are pleased to defend great geniuses when they offend, provided they profess no faith. They are to be judged by a standard wholly diverse from that of ordinary mortals. They are to be tolerated when they break the laws of morality and decency because their intellects and passions are so strong that they cannot be kept under restraint. The spider web of human morality catches the little flies, while the big ones break through and go at loose ends! Out upon such a revolting doctrine which gives immunity to wickedness when it becomes so great that it cannot be restrained. If the accredited teachers of a system of morality, with their superior wisdom and opportunities, do not even try to illustrate the truths they profess, what can be expected of weaker reason and more brutish passions among the ignorant who have the examples of transgressors excused and palliated before their eyes?

When Strauss and Renan began their departure from the faith of their respective churches, they professed to be acting in the interest of truth. They asserted that their only object was to sweep away the errors which had gathered around the books of

Revelation ; that the truth must be rescued from the rubbish of tradition, and men must be taught its real significance. But their departure continued ; the divergence became greater until at last every distinctive tenet of Christianity was abandoned. Strauss despaired of everything ; of Religion, of Humanity ; and, last of all, of himself. The farrago of negatives and doubts to which he reduced the Word of God had no truth to influence the reason, no beauty to enlist the affections, and no lofty motives to quicken the zeal of an earnest soul. Renan's course has been in the same direction. He has taken out one prop after another until his system has fallen to the level of degraded humanity. He began by a slight divergence from the truth, but cherished the spirit of destructive criticism until he left no standing room. For the spirits of doubt and faith are essentially hostile in their nature, and no basis can be found sufficiently wide for both. Hence their conflict must end by one being left sole master of the field.

The tendency is evident in the case of all who depart in the least from the plain meaning of the revealed Word. Honest inquiry into its meaning differs from a determination to find an interpretation which if adopted is evidently subversive of its real import. While the meaning of the Divine Will is infinite in its reach, and inexhaustible in the development of its signification *pari passu* with the progress and needs of humanity, yet this in no way involves an interpretation which would destroy its main purpose. Thus we see alike in those who receive all its doctrines and endeavor to conform their lives completely to its sanctions, and in those who depart further from its morality at the same time they are rejecting its teaching, the evidences of approach as decisive to confirm its truth. For human conduct testifies to the truth of moral ideas by the fruit produced both in their acceptance and rejection. He that doeth good is from God, and the light which shines from Heaven enables him to see the path of duty and follow it to its source ; while the doubter closes his eyes against the truth until he has made himself blind, and then believes that the truth does not exist because he is unable to see it.

III.

INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY REV. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

BOOKS AND LIBRARIES.

Th. Sickel: Monumenta graphica Medii Aevi. Vienna, 1858 sqq. (Splendid photographic reproductions), W. WATTENBACH: *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter.* Leipzig, 1871, 2d ed. 1875.

AFTER a long period of ignorance or mere traditional learning during the commotions incident to the migrations of nations and the first settlement of the new races in Europe, there began, in the eleventh century, a new era for theology and philosophy in the founding of the Universities, and the rise and progress of Scholasticism and Mysticism.

The revival of literary interest suggested the establishment of new institutions of learning, and these in turn spread education and largely increased the number of teachers and students.

The multiplication of convents was due to religious motives, but incidentally it aided also the cause of learning, and led to the increase of libraries and literary activity. The Benedictine monks deserve the first rank among the preservers of ancient classical and patristic literature and the founders of libraries. Books for devotional purposes were a necessity for every convent and cathedral church. It was a current saying that "a convent without a library is a fort without arms."

The books most frequently copied were the Latin Bible, especially the Gospels and the Psalter, liturgical books, the works of Augustin, Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Gregory I., among the Fathers; Virgil, Cicero, and Horace among the classics.

The monks were illuminators and binders as well as tran-

scribers of books. Many mediæval Bibles and missals are most beautifully illustrated, richly bound in wood or leather, studded with knobs and bands of gold and silver and closed with broad clasps. Rare and important books, in public libraries, were secured frequently by chains.

The copyists usually concealed their names, like the cathedral builders, they did their work for the glory of Christ and the Virgin Mary, for the good of posterity and for reward in heaven. At the close they express, in verse or prose, thanks to God for the completion of their task, good wishes for the reader, and a request for his prayers. The most frequent subscription is: "*Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.*" A copyist of Horace dedicated the MS. (in the Munich library) to St. Stephen, and asked in return: "*mercedem in cœlis mihi redde perennem.*" The transcriber of the *Didache* signed himself (A.D. 1056): "Leo, notary and sinner." Another subscription is:

"The hand that wrote doth moulder in the tomb:
The book abideth till the day of doom." ¹

The libraries were limited, and the price of books down to the invention of the art of printing continued very high, much higher than in the classical period of Greek and Latin literature when more people were able to read. King Alfred gave for one book (a cosmography) eight hides of land. A countess of Anjou paid for a copy of the homilies of Bishop Haimo of Halberstadt two hundred sheep and a large quantity of provision.² In 1274 a finely written Bible was sold for 50 marks (about £34), when labor cost only a shilling a day. One reason was the scarcity of writing material.

The Egyptian papyrus (the usual writing paper) almost disappeared from Europe after the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens in the seventh century (638), and the more rare and costly parchment made of animal skin took its place till the close of the eleventh century, when the art of manufacturing

¹ Wattenbach, *l. c.* p. 416-447, gives many specimens of subscriptions, mostly in Latin, some in German and French.

² E. A. Schmidt: *Geschichte von Frankreich*, Bd. I., p. 347.

paper from cotton rags and afterwards from linen was introduced. Hence the frequent practice of erasing a manuscript in order to substitute another on the same parchment. (The palimpsest MSS.) Even the Bible had to give way sometimes (as in the case of the famous Codex Ephræmi Syri) to writings of far inferior value.

The best libraries were in the convents of Mount Athos, Monte Cassino, Bobbio, Cluny, Tours, Bec, Fulda, Corbey, Hersfeld, Melk, Reichenau, St. Gall. The University libraries date from the 14th century. The revival of learning gave the strongest impetus to the formation of private and public libraries. It began with Dante and Petrarcha, and was patronized by the Medici family of Florence and the popes of the Renaissance, especially by Nicolas V. (1447-'55), the founder of the Vatican library. But the largest mediæval libraries were small compared with the immense modern libraries of Rome, Paris, London, Oxford, Cambridge, Vienna, Munich, Berlin, which are the accumulations of many generations, and may be called the modern cathedrals.

In North America, books accumulate with ten times greater rapidity, owing to the modern facilities in book manufacture and the large and ever-growing number of liberal patrons of learning. Whole libraries of Europe are bought by single individuals for American Colleges and Seminaries.

MONASTIC AND CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS.

Throughout the Middle Ages learning was almost entirely confined to the clergy; and hence the term cleric (*clericus*) was identical with scholar, author, scribe. The period of general and popular education dates from the invention of the printing-press or rather from the Protestant Reformation which opened the Bible to all, and taught the universal priesthood of believers.

The pagan schools of the Roman Empire were swept away by the barbaric invasion. The first Christian schools were attached to convents and cathedrals. They were founded by Charlemagne and his successors, by bishops, monks and noble-

men. In these monastic and episcopal schools, the seven liberal arts were taught in two courses: the *Trivium*, consisting of grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and the *Quadrivium*, embracing music, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. The division is traced to Cassiodorus and St. Augustin and back to the schools of the old Roman empire.¹ But these sciences were taught very imperfectly; music, for instance, was confined to the chanting of Psalms and hymns, astronomy to the calculation of Easter.

Normandy was distinguished in the eleventh century for schools, to which many youths from Germany and Italy repaired. Lanfranc (1042-'66) and Anselm (1062-'93) taught scholastic theology in the Benedictine convent at Bec, in the diocese of Rouen (founded in 1034), before they were successively called to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The eucharistic controversy between Berengar and Lanfranc, and the nominalistic and realistic controversy between Roscellin and Anselm introduced the scholastic method of theology. Anselm, archdeacon of Laon, surnamed Scholasticus, a pupil of Anselm of Canterbury, and teacher of Abelard, established a flourishing school and wrote a popular exegetical work (*Glossa interlinearea*, 1117). Odo (Uduardus, d. 1113), at Tournay (Tornacum) on the Schelde, some forty miles south-west of Brussels, instructed as many as two hundred pupils in peripatetic style, and created such an enthusiasm for philosophy that students and citizens were seen disputing before the churches and on the streets.

Still more famous were the schools and colleges in Paris out of which grew the University. William of Champeaux (*De Capellis*) taught first in the cathedral school, and then founded in 1108 the school of St. Victor, where literary studies were combined with canonical life and ascetic exercises, and where during the twelfth century seven cardinals, two archbishops, six bishops and fifty-four abbots were educated. William was soon eclipsed by his more gifted pupil and rival, Peter Abelard, who first taught at the cathedral school of Notre Dame, and then in St. Geneviève. They made dialectics the science of sciences.

¹ See Schaff, *Church History*, Vol. IV., 611 sqq.

The multiplication of studies, the introduction of new methods of teaching, and the tendency to organization and consolidation led to the formation of Universities for mutual protection and encouragement. We have an analogy in the contemporaneous trade guilds which sprang up in all the large cities of Europe.

THE UNIVERSITIES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

- C. E. BULÆUS (DU BOULAY): *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, etc., a *Carolo Magno ad nostra tempora* (1600). Paris, 1665-'73, 6 vols. fol. Von Savigny (III. 338) calls this a standard work, "rich in materials, but prolix and tedious, devoid of method and criticism." Denifle says disparagingly (I. VIII.): "Du Boulay has led us all astray concerning the development of the University of Paris."
- CHR. MEINERS: *Geschichte der hohen Schulen*. Göttingen, 1802-'05, 4 vols. Comprehensive, but chaotic; discussing all sorts of things, but without method. Superseded.
- * FRIEDR. CARL VON SAVIGNY (Prof. of law in Berlin, d. 1861): *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*. Heidelberg, Bd. III., 2nd ed. 1834. Marks an epoch with reference to the teaching of the Roman law in Paris, Bologna and Padua.
- C. VON RAUMER: *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, vol. IV., 4th ed. 1872.
- J. VON DÖLLINGER (d. 1890): *Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt*. München, 1867; reprinted in his "Akademische Vorträge," Nördlingen, 1889, vol. II. 3-55.
- * P. HEINRICH DENIFLE (*aus dem Predigerorden, Unterarchivar des heil. Stuhles*): *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*. Berlin, 1885 sqq. The first 2 vols. on the Universities in general, the last three on the University in Paris. So far only vol. I. (xlv. and 814) has appeared, dedicated to Cardinal Hergenröther, the Prefect of the Vatican Archives. Full of learning and original research, comprehensive, critical, but diffuse, contentious and repetitious. By the same: *Urkunden zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Universitäten*, in "Archiv für Literatur-und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters," Bd. V. 167 sqq. (1889).
- Comp. also THOLUCK: *Universitäten*, in the first ed. of Herzog's "Encycl.," vol. XVI. 720-734 (1862; omitted in the second ed.). J. B. MULLINGER: *Universities*, in the 9th ed. of "Encycl. Brit." XXII. 831-858. *Minerva. Jahrbuch der gelehrten Welt*. Zweiter Jahrgang, 1892-93. By R. Kukula and K. Trübner. Strassburg, 1893.

Universities are institutions for the cultivation of every branch of knowledge, human and divine, to the highest attain-

able degree of perfection. They are the centres of the intellectual and literary life of nations, the workshops of learning and research, the nurseries of the men of power and influence in the various professions. They receive the best minds from all ranks of society and mold them for public usefulness.

These institutions originated in the Middle Ages. They were partly an expansion of the monastic and cathedral schools, partly independent foundations. Tradition traces the University of Paris back to Charlemagne in the eighth century, and the University of Oxford to King Alfred, in the ninth century. These monarchs were indeed shining lights in prevailing darkness, the legislators and educators of Europe in that chaotic period of transition from ancient to modern civilization. But universities in any proper sense of the term did not appear before the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. They arose in connection with that great revival of Western Christendom, which reformed the papacy, founded the monastic orders, roused the Crusades, built the Gothic cathedrals, and produced scholastic and mystic theology. They grew gradually from imperfect rudiments to their present stage of perfection and are still expanding with the progress of knowledge. They were founded by the enthusiasm of scholars. Popes, kings, and cities lent them their authority and patronage, but some of them were in vigorous existence before they received a papal or a royal charter.

The original idea of a University differs from that which obtains at the present time. It was not a university of letters (*universitas literarum*), but a university of teachers and students (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*), or a corporation for general study. The usual designation in the thirteenth century for such a community was "Study" or "General Study" (*studium generale, studium universale*). Thus the University of Bologna was called "*Studium Bononie*" or "*Bononiense*,"¹ that of Paris, "*Studium Parisiense*," that of Oxford, "*Studium Oxoniense*." "Study" is here used for the place of

¹ It is still called *Studio Bolognese* in Italian.

studying. The addition "*generale*" had reference likewise to scholars, not to different branches of knowledge. It meant a centre of study for all.¹ Some "Studies" were only for medicine, or law, or theology. But the tendency and aim of a mediæval university was to provide for all branches of learning, and thus the name naturally passed from the personal sense of a body of teachers to the literary sense of a body of studies.² The designation of the university as "*alma*" or "*alma mater*," dates from the 13th century. The term *faculty* meant both the body of teachers of a particular branch of knowledge, and the science taught.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

A full university requires four faculties: theology, philosophy (arts and sciences), law, and medicine, corresponding to the four learned professions.

But some of the best universities were incomplete for a long time, and were founded exclusively for medicine (Salerno), or law (Bologna). Nearly one-half of them excluded theology from their range of studies, probably because the monastic and episcopal schools provided for the necessary training of priests. Bologna had no theological faculty till 1360; Salamanca had none till the end of the fourteenth century; on the other hand, Paris which cultivated from the start chiefly theology and canon law, had no provision for teaching civil law from 1219 to the seventeenth century.³ The philosophical faculty was the faculty of the seven liberal arts of the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*, but embraced in its later expansion all metaphysical, linguistic, mathematical, historical, scientific and other studies which may claim the dignity of independent departments or faculties.

Besides the literary division, there was a division by nation-

¹ Denifle, I. 5 sqq. A "general" study might be founded for each separate faculty. Hence the phrase: "*Vigeat studium generale in theologica facultate.*"

² Frederick II. in 1224 expressed the desire that the University of Naples should have "doctors and masters in every faculty," and that "the studies of every profession should flourish." Denifle, I. 28.

³ Denifle, I. 703.

ality for purposes of administration and discipline. The students at Paris were divided into four nations, of France, Picardy (including the Netherlands), Normandy, and England (the last, in 1430, gave place to Germany). In Bologna, Padua and Vercelli, there were four *universitates* composed of different nationalities, Italians, English, Provençals, and Germans. The "nations" were subdivided into provinces. The provincial division is still kept up in the Swedish Universities of Upsala and Lund.¹

A university formed a republic of letters, a state within the state, a Church within the Church. It had an independent government and jurisdiction, large endowments and privileges, which had been granted by popes, kings, cities, and individuals.

An elective Rector or Chancellor stood at the head of the whole corporation; a Dean, at the head of each faculty; and each nation had its Procurator. The Academic Senate was the governing and executive body, and embraced the officers and the ordinary professors of all the faculties.

Each faculty had the right to grant the license to teach in its own department, and to confer the academic degrees of bachelor, licentiate (master), and doctor. These degrees looked originally to public teaching and marked as many steps in the promotion to this office. The doctorate of divinity was the highest dignity, and might be acquired by public disputation, or was bestowed *honoris causa* for distinguished merit. In law, there were doctors of civil, and doctors of canon law.

Professors for a long time had no regular salary and lived by lecture fees or on private means. They were monks or ecclesiastics, and had no families to support. They taught wherever it was most convenient, in their convents, in colleges founded for poor students, in some public hall, or in private

¹ The national division is dated back by Du Boulay to the year 1206, when the four nations in Paris made an agreement about the election of a rector; but the agreement is identical with one of 1266. See Denifle, I. 84. The first trace seems to be in a bull of Honorius III. May 27, 1217, which is addressed to the "*Scholaribus Universitatis de Urbe, de Campania, et de Tuscia, Bononie commorantibus.*"

rooms. They were called *Doctor, Magister, Dominus*. Public university buildings, libraries, antiquarian and artistic collections were of slow growth, and the effect of living teaching.

France, Italy, and England took the lead in the history of universities. Germany was behind them till the period of the Reformation, but the Hohenstauffen emperors, Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II., chartered the first universities of Italy.

The attendance of the universities was larger than in modern times, while the teachers were fewer. We read that Bologna had at one time as many as 10,000, Paris, 25,000, and Oxford, 30,000 scholars.¹ Abelard lectured before 3000 hearers. Berthold of Regensburg, a Franciscan monk and revival preacher (d. 1272), is reported to have preached to an audience of 60,000. These figures may be greatly exaggerated, but are not impossible. We should remember that universities and libraries were few in number, and that oral instruction was all the more valuable. If one desired to be taught by Abelard or Thomas Aquinas, he must go to Paris. The time for study was more extended, six years for canon law, eight years for civil law (in Bologna). Men in mature age and even priests, canons and professors, often turned students for a time. The line between teachers and learners was not closely drawn, and both were included in the name of scholar or student (*scholaris* or *scholasticus*).

A papal bull was usually required for a university.² Every doctor and public teacher of theology was sworn to defend the

¹ The largest number of students for 1891-92 was 6029 in Vienna, 5371 in Berlin, 4592 in Naples, 3431 in Leipzig, 3387 in Edinburgh, 3292 in Munich, 3280 in Athens, 3223 in Budapest, 3212 in Oxford, 2909 in Cambridge, 2670 in Prague, 2692 in the University of Michigan, 2658 in Harvard, 1784 in Yale, 600 in Vanderbilt, and 500 in the Toronto, Universities. The number of professors (ordinary, extraordinary and Privatdocenten) for the same year was at Vienna, 302, Berlin, 344, Cambridge, 90, Harvard, 226, Yale, 154, Toronto, 59, Vanderbilt, 54.

² This mediæval custom which has long since gone out of date, has been renewed in America by Leo XIII., in chartering the Catholic University of Washington City, 1888.

Scriptures and the faith of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. Luther took that oath. Paris, Louvain, and Cologne condemned him as a heretic.

Yet from the universities have proceeded, in spite of papal prohibitions and excommunications, the intellectual and ecclesiastical revolutions of modern times. The last mediæval university—Wittenberg—became the first Protestant university, and Heidelberg, Leipzig, Tübingen, Oxford and Cambridge, once among the chief nurseries of scholastic theology, have long since transferred their loyalty and zeal to a different creed. In Scotland also, the oldest University—St. Andrews—founded for the defense of the Roman Catholic faith, became a bulwark of the Reformation, so that the phrase “to drink from St. Leonard’s well,” (one of the Colleges of St. Andrews), was equivalent to an imbibing of the doctrines of Calvin. Almost every new school of theological thought, and every great ecclesiastical movement has been born or nursed in some university.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA.

I. GENERAL LITERATURE ON ITALIAN UNIVERSITIES.

MURATORI: *Antiquit. Italicæ*, III. 884 sqq. Important documents bearing on the state of learning in Italy. TIRABOSCHI: *Storia della letteratura italiana*. COPPI: *La università italiana nel medio evo*. Firenze, 1880.

II. ON THE BOLOGNA UNIVERSITY.

F. C. VON SAVIGNY: *Geschichte des römischen. Rechts, im Mittelalter*, Heidelberg, vol. III. 159–272 (2nd ed. 1834). A full account with special reference to the study of the Roman law.

GIACOMO CASSANI (late Prof. of Canon Law, Bologna): *Dell’ antico Studio di Bologna e sua origine*. Bologna, 1888 (315 pp.).

LUIGI CHIAPPELLI: *Lo Studio Bolognese*. Pistoria, 1888.

DENIFLE: *Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Bologna v. J. 1317–1347*, in “Archiv für Lit. und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters,” III. 196–409 (1887).

Comp. the historical works on Canon law and the publications in celebration of the Eighth Centenary of the Bologna University observed in June, 1888, especially the *Statuti della Università della Studio Bolognese*, 1888 (524 pp. fol.) and other books which are mentioned in my account of the celebration in *Literature and Poetry*, New York, 1890, p. 278.

The oldest surviving and by far the most important Universities of the Middle Ages are those of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford.

The University of Bologna, in the beautiful old city on the northern slope of the Apennines (which formerly belonged to the Papal States, from 1513–1860, now to the United Kingdom of Italy), derives its fame from the study of law both civil and ecclesiastic. It is traced back by tradition to Theodosius II. in 433, but it does not appear in history before the beginning of the twelfth century when Irnerius (Werner, Garnier) discoursed and taught the Justinian Code of Civil law. He was probably a native of Bologna, could secure manuscripts of that code from the neighboring city of Ravenna, served Emperor Henry V. as counselor between 1116 and 1118, and died before 1130. He is called the Restorer of Roman jurisprudence.¹ A few years afterwards, Gratianus, a Camaldusian monk, taught the canon or church law in the convent of St. Felix at Bologna, and gave it still greater celebrity. These two lawyers may be called the fathers of that University.

The German emperor, Frederick I. called Barbarossa, gave to Bologna the first university charter, on a visit to that city in the year 1155.² He extended (in the *Authentica: Habita*) the privilege, in 1158, at the diet of Roncaglia where four professors of law from Bologna were present, to other schools of Italy and secured imperial protection to scholars on their journeys.³

This is the beginning of mediæval university legislation.

Henceforward Bologna was a second and better Berytus, the nurse of jurisprudence (*legum nutrix*), and could adopt the proud device: *Bononia docet*. Students flocked to her by hundreds and thousands from all countries and nationalities.

¹ "*Scientiæ legalis illuminator.*" A full account of Irnerius (also Warnerius, Wernerus, Werner, Garnerius, Garnier) is given by Savigny, *l. c.*, vol. IV. 9–67 (2nd ed. 1850), with frequent allusions to him in vol. III., 205, 426, 434 sqq. He says that Irnerius was acquainted with all parts of Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis*. The discovery must be taken in a relative sense; for the Roman law, like the Roman language, was never altogether forgotten.

² This appears from a historical poem on Frederick Barbarossa, which was discovered and first published by Giesebrecht in 1879.

³ "*Omnibus qui causa studiorum peregrinantur, scholaribus et maxime divinarum atque sacrarum legum professoribus.*"

For a long time the University was confined to legal studies. In the fourteenth century a faculty of medicine and a faculty of theology were added. In modern times natural and mathematical sciences are chiefly cultivated.¹

An original feature of the University of Bologna was the admission of learned ladies to the corps of teachers. Novella d' Andrea (1312-1366), the daughter of a celebrated jurist, Giovanni d' Andrea, lectured on philosophy and law, but had a curtain drawn before her beautiful face lest the students might be absorbed in her person rather than her lecture.

Among female professors of recent times, we mention Laura Bassi, a native of Bologna (d. 1778), teacher of philosophy and mathematics, and Clotilda Tambroni, likewise a Bolognese, who taught Greek from 1794 to 1817.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

LITERATURE.

On the University of Paris and other French Universities (Toulouse, Orleans, Montpellier, Angers), see BULÆUS, SAVIGNY (Vol. III. 337-375), DENIFLE, as quoted.

CREVIER: *Hist. de l'université de Paris*. Paris, 1761, 7 vols. An epitome of Bulæus.

LEBEUF: *L'état des sciences en France depuis la mort du Roy Robert jusqu' à celle de Philippe le Bel*. Paris, 1741.

V. LE CLERC: *Discours sur l'état des lettres en France au 14. siècle*. In the "Hist. littéraire de la France," Tom. 24.

VALLET DE VIRIVILLE: *Histoire de l'instruction publique en Europe et principalement en France*. Paris, 1849.

¹ The University Calendar for 1887-'88 (*Annuario della regia Università di Bologna*) mentions the departments in the following order: *facoltà di lettere e filosofia*; *f. di scienze matematiche fisiche e naturali*; *f. di giurisprudenza* (with no professorship for canon law); *f. medico-chirurgica*; *scuola di farmacia*; *scuola superiore di medicina veterinaria*; *scuola di applicazione per gli ingegneri*; *scuola di magistero*. The Calendar (pp. 211-255) gives a chronological list of rectors and vice-rectors from Joannes de Varanis, 1244, to Giovanni Capellini, 1888. The number of students for 1886-'7 is given as 1338, which is larger than that of any other Italian University except Naples (4083), and Turin (2102). The theological faculty seems to have been abolished when Bologna ceased to be a papal city. During the centennial celebration, June 12-14, the Church and the clergy were conspicuous by their absence; while the fifth centennial of the Protestant University of Heidelberg in Aug. 1886, was opened by a solemn divine service and sermon in the church of the Holy Ghost.

CH. THUBOT: *De l'organisation de l'enseignement dans l'université de Paris au moyen âge.* Paris, 1850.

C. JOURDIN: *Histoire de l'université de Paris au XVII et XVIII siècle.* Paris, 1862.

E. MICHAUD: *Guill. de Champeaux et les écoles de Paris au 12^me siècle.* Paris, 1867.

HENR. DENIFLE, O. P., auxiliante ÆMILIO CHATELAIN: *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, etc., Paris, 1889 sqq., pp. 713. The first vol. goes from A.D. 1200 to 1286. There will probably be six vols. The introduction, pp. xxxvi., gives a brief history of the University.

Bologna took the lead in the teaching of the Roman and Canon law; Paris, in the liberal Arts and Scholastic Theology. Paris became the centre of the literary movements and the model university. Its precise origin is involved in obscurity and a matter of dispute.¹ It arose about the middle of the twelfth century from the cathedral school of Notre Dame on the island of the Seine, and other schools, by a union of the teachers of the four faculties, which seems to be older than the corporation of the four nations.² Besides the school of Notre Dame, there were several independent schools in Paris in which literary studies were combined with monastic or canonical life, such as the schools of Saint Victor, Saint Geneviève, Saint Germain des Prés, Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, Saint Denis. William of Champeaux and Peter Abelard taught enthusiastic audiences in the first quarter of the twelfth century, and contributed largely to the formation of the University, of which

¹ Du Boulay defends the untenable tradition which traces it back to Charlemagne.

² This is the view of Denifle, I. 64 sqq., and 655 sqq. He opposes the view of Du Boulay and von Savigny, who derive the University from the organization of the four nations so called. "*Das Collegium doctorum ist der eigentliche Grundstock der Universität Paris, nicht aber die vier Nationen*" (p. 69). He refers for proof (p. 68) to Walsingham, 1195, and Innocent III, 1209, who speak of a *consortium* or *communio magistrorum* in Paris before the nations are mentioned. Honorius III., Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. often use the term *universitas doctorum, magistrorum collegium*. The *Cancellarius Parisiensis* was the Chancellor of Notre Dame (p. 662). But, after all, Denifle gives no clear and satisfactory view of the origin of the University.

they are sometimes called the founders.¹ The Danes established a school of their own nation in 1147. Others endowed special professorships for jurisprudence and medicine.

Thus all the teaching forces were at work for a great university; but the organization was a gradual growth. In 1222 we first meet the official use of the term *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*. In 1225 the University had a common seal. Pope Gregory IX. granted to it the *magna charta* by the bull *Parens scientiarum*, 1231.

The theological faculty enjoyed the primacy of honor. It received at the end of the thirteenth century the name of Sorbona (Sorbonne), from a monastic college which Robert de Sorbon, chaplain and confessor of Louis IX., had founded for beneficiary students and endowed with all his property at his death (Aug. 15, 1274).

An unbroken succession of eminent teachers, such as Abelard, Peter the Lombard, Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, raised the University to the height of celebrity. The students are said to have at times outnumbered the citizens. As Rome was the seat of power, so Paris became the centre of learning and fashion. The leadership in learning she has lost; the leadership in fashion she still retains. In the enthusiastic language of her admirers, she exceeded every city, even ancient Athens, and combined the treasures of literature and art, of intellectual culture and social refinement, of beauty and fashion, the advantages and excellences of all lands and nations. But the city abounded also in temptation and vice, which made her the most dangerous, as well as she was the most brilliant, capital of Europe.

¹ Michaud, *Guillaume de Champeaux et les écoles de Paris au XII siècle*, quoted by Denifle, I. 655. Abelard taught in monte S. Genovefæ. This may mean in the convent of that name (*in claustris s. G.*), or in its neighborhood. St. Geneviève, St. Victor and St. Denys were outside of the city proper, but belonged to the *territorium Parisiense*. Denifle says, I. 677, that it is an error to call Abelard the founder, and St. Geneviève the cradle of the University, but that, indirectly, Abelard prepared the way, and that St. Geneviève was a transition to the University.

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

- * ANTHONY WOOD (1632-'95): *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*. Oxford, 1674, 2 vols. fol. A translation from MS. by Wase and Peers, under the supervision of Dr. (Bishop) Fell from Wood's English MS. Wood was dissatisfied with the translation and rewrote his work, which was published a hundred years after his death with a continuation by JOHN GUTSCH: *The History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls in the University of Oxford*. Oxf., 1786-'90, 2 vols. Also: *The History and Antiquities of Oxford, now first publ. in English from the original MS. in the Bodleian Library*. Oxf., 1792-'96, 2 vols. in 3 parts. By the same: *Athenæ Oxonienses*. London, 1691-'92, 2 vols. fol.; 3rd ed., by Ph. Bliss, 1813-'20, 4 vols. The last work is biographical, and gives an account of the Oxonian writers and bishops from 1500-1690. See Allibone, *Dict.* III. 2816 sqq.
- H. ANSTEY: *Munimenta Academica, or Documents illustrative of Academic Life and Studies at Oxford*. London, 1868, 2 vols.
- V. A. HUBER: *Die englischen Universitäten*. Cassel, 1839, 2 vols. An abridged translation by FRANCIS W. NEWMAN (a brother of Cardinal John Henry N.): *The English Universities*. London, 1843, 3 vols. Superseded.
- H. C. M. LYTE: *A History of the University of Oxford from the Earliest Times to 1530*. Oxf., 1886.
- * G. C. BRODRICK (Warden of Merton College): *A History of the University of Oxford*. London, 1887 (republ. by Randolph, N. York).
- MAXWELL LYTE: *History of the University of Oxford from the earliest times to the year 1530*. Oxford, 1886.
- F. E. HOLLAND (Prof. of Law, Oxf.): *The Origin of the University of Oxford*. In Creighton's "English Historical Review" for April, 1891 (London, Longmans, Green & Co.). Comp. his article in the "Collectanea of the Oxford Historical Society," vol. for 1890.

Next to Paris in age and importance, as a high school of scholastic philosophy and theology, is the University of Oxford. Tradition traces it to King Alfred, the patron of Christian learning; but this tradition is not older than the fourteenth century, and is as baseless as the tradition of the founding of the University of Paris by Charlemagne.¹ The University of Oxford has no founder, or rather, many founders, and is a gradual growth of centuries.

Oxford was one of the chief towns of England, and central

¹ It was defended by Huber (*Die englischen Universitäten*, I. 558 and II. 55), but refuted by Denifle (I. 237) and others.

for the whole country south of the Humber, free from the jurisdiction of any great bishop or monastery. It had been formerly a great military post, and a place for national assemblies. King Henry I. was fond of Oxfordshire, and built a hunting-box at Woodstock in 1114, and collected a menagerie of wild beasts.

At that time, schools and colleges are first mentioned in Oxford. The teaching was derived from the monastic institutions of Bec, Bayeux and Caen in Normandy, which furnished also most of the prelates of the Norman period for the English sees.

Thibaut d'Estampes moved from St. Stephen's Abbey at Caen to Oxford and taught there, between 1117-21, a school of 60 to 100 scholars. He called himself "Magister Oxenfordiæ," and was a man of distinction. He opposed the errors of Roscellin, discussed the question of the salvability of unbaptized infants, the validity of orders conferred upon the sons of priests and the relations between the regular and the secular clergy. He bitterly attacked the monasteries as "prisons of the damned, who have condemned themselves in order to escape eternal damnation." He was held up to ridicule by a monk as a "petty clerk" (*tantillus clericellus*) and as "one of those wandering chaplains, with pointed beards, curled hair, and effeminate dress, who are ashamed of the proper ecclesiastical habit and the tonsure." He was also accused of being "occupied with secular literature." He probably taught the liberal arts. In his hostility to the monks he may be called a forerunner of Wiclif.

The next recorded teacher at Oxford was a theologian, Master Breton Robert Pullein or Pulan. He began to lecture on the Holy Scriptures in the year 1133.¹ He wrote eight books of "Sentences," refused a bishopric offered to him by Henry I., and subsequently became a cardinal and chancellor of the Roman curia.

In 1149, "Master Vacarius" began to teach civil law at

¹ *Chron Osney*, 1133 (quoted by Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, V. 319): "*Magister Robertus Pullein scripturas divinas, quæ in Anglia obsoluerant, apud Oxoniam legere coepit.*"

Oxford, and attracted crowds of students.¹ He wrote a digest of laws "sufficient for deciding all the legal problems which are wont to be discussed in the schools." The canon law followed. Scholastic theology and law then formed the body of teaching.

In the second half of the 12th century, the University steadily increased in the number of scholars, but no great names are recorded. Walter Map, the archdeacon of Oxford, is described as "an Oxford master." Edmund Rich, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, is the first Englishman known to have taken the degree of "Master of Arts," or, as the fact is otherwise stated, to have been "elevated, after a sufficient course of study in arts, to the rank of teacher, by the license of the teachers (*doctores*)." In 1187, the doctors and scholars were grouped under several "faculties." In 1190, they were commonly spoken of as a *Commune Studium Literarum*, or as *Studium Generale*.

In 1201 a chancellor is mentioned. The incorporations and endowments by kings and bishops began in the thirteenth century. In 1209, three thousand masters and scholars seceded in consequence of the murder of some students in a street-fight with the citizens. In 1214, they returned. In 1229, Oxford received a large accession from Paris. In 1264, the university numbered 15,000 immatriculated students, in 1333 even 30,000, but in 1357 less than 6000.²

Oxford had no papal or royal charter; but Pope Innocent IV. in 1254 confirmed its "immunities, liberties and laudable ancient customs."

The University grew from age to age. It embraces now twenty-one incorporated Colleges and five Halls, founded in different ages by the liberality of bishops and kings. The oldest are Merton, founded 1274; Balliol, 1262; Exeter, 1314; Oriel, 1326; University College, 1332; Queen's College, 1340. Among the illustrious teachers were Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Occam, Bradwardine, Richard Armagh, Wiclif.

¹ Gervase, 1665, quoted by Freeman, *l. c.*

² See the contemporary notices in Denifle, I. 248.

Oxford is closely identified with most of the great movements of the English Church: the reign of scholasticism, the reform of Wiclif, the Revival of Letters, the Reformation, the Commonwealth, the Restoration (1660), the Revolution (1688), the Wesleyan revival (the two Wesleys and Whitefield), the Tractarian or Anglo-Catholic movement (Pusey, Keble, Newman), Ritualism, Broad-Churchism, etc. Since the year 1854, it is open to Dissenters. Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles is no more required except from the heads of Colleges.

The Independents established a College (Mansfield) in 1885, for the training of ministers.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

C. H. COOPER: *Annals of Cambridge*, 1842-'52, 4 vols.; *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, 1500-1609, 2 vols.; *Memorials of Cambridge*, 1884, 3 vols.

J. BASS MULLINGER (of St. John's College): *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Times to the Accession of Charles I.* Cambridge, 1873-'83, 2 vols.—*A History of the University of Cambridge.* London and New York, 1887. An epitome of the larger work.

Comp. the literature in the preceding section.

The University of Cambridge appears first clearly in 1209, when many of the three thousand students of Oxford went there. The first documents date from 1230, under Henry III., who protected the students against the oppressions of the citizens, but complains of the want of discipline. Pope Gregory X., in a bull of June 14, 1233, protests against students who are more bent upon contention than study.¹ Several royal documents of 1242, 1249, 1256, 1268, etc., indicate a disorderly condition and conflicts of the University with the citizens and the Bishop of Ely. The University gradually grew, and comprises at present seventeen colleges and three hostels. It took the leading part in the Reformation; Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley were graduates of Cambridge, but were burned at Oxford. She is the alma mater of Chaucer, Bacon, Milton, Newton, Macaulay.

¹ The bull is addressed to the "*Cancellarius et Universitas scholarium Cantabrig.*" and preserved with another bull of June 15, 1233, to the Bishop of Ely, in the Vatican archives, and printed in Denifle, I., 370 sq.

The English Universities have preserved mediæval traditions more than any other Protestant universities, in their organization, fellowships, architecture, liturgical service, and scholastic dress. They are richly endowed and possess venerable buildings, Gothic chapels, invaluable libraries and treasures of art and antiquity.

The English Universities differ from the Continental Universities: they give prominence to the undergraduate studies, and subordinate the faculty studies; while German Universities presuppose a full College or Gymnasium course, and are devoted exclusively to professional studies. The American colleges are based upon English models.

GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

K. V. RAUMER: *Die deutschen Universitäten*. Stuttgart, 1854.

PHIL. SCHAFF: *Germany: its Universities, Theology and Religion*. Philadelphia, 1857. Intended chiefly for American students in Germany. Out of print. The same author furnished sketches of most of the German Universities with special references to their present theological faculties for "The Independent," N. York, 1885 and '86.

ZARNCKE: *Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter*. Leipzig, 1857. "*Bietet nicht was der Titel verspricht*" (Denifle). By the same: *Die urkundlichen Quellen zur Geschichte der Universität*. Leipzig, 1857.

SYBEL: *Die deutschen Universitäten*, 2nd ed. Bonn, 1874.

* PAULSEN: *Die Gründung der deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter*, etc., in von Sybel's "Hist. Zeitschrift." Bd. 45, pp. 251-311. 385-440, München, 1881. Solid investigation. By the same: *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig, 1885.

* G. KAUFMANN: *Die Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten*. Stuttgart, 1888 sqq., 3 vols. (promised). Bd. I, *Vorgeschichte*. He frequently differs from Denifle and returns to the views of Savigny.

The festive orations at the centennial celebrations of Tübingen, Leipzig, Heidelberg, etc., contain historical sketches, i. e., KUNO FISCHER: *Festrede zur 500 jährigen Feier der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität zu Heidelberg, gehalten in der Heiliggeist Kirche den 4 Aug., 1886*. Heidelb., 1886 (64 pages). There are special histories of the Universities of Vienna, by ASCHBACH; of Leipzig, by ZARNCKE; of Basel, by VISCHER, etc.

. Germany was behind Italy, France, England and Spain in the establishment of universities.

The oldest is the Bohemian university of Prague, which now belongs to Austria. It was founded by the Emperor Charles IV., and Pope Clement VI., in 1347. It soon acquired great fame by the attempted reformation of Hus. At his instigation, King Wenzel IV., issued an order in 1409 that the Bohemian nation should have as much influence in the elections as the three other nations combined (the Saxon, Bavarian, and Polish); whereupon the German students and teachers emigrated and founded the universities of Leipzig, Rostock, and Ingoldstadt.

Next followed the university of Vienna, the capital of Austria, founded in 1365 by Duke Rudolf IV. and Pope Urban V., in opposition to Prague. It became a seat for the revival of classical studies under the patronage of the Emperor Maximilian I. It was the *alma mater* of the Swiss Reformers Zwingli and Vadianus. Under Ferdinand II., in 1623, it passed into the control of the Jesuits.

The University of Heidelberg is the oldest university within the bounds of the present German empire. It was founded in 1386 by the Elector Ruprecht I., of the Palatinate and Pope Urban II., after the model of the University of Paris with four faculties. It was ruled by scholastic theology but reorganized at the introduction of the Reformation under Otto Heinrich in 1556, with the advice of Melanchthon, and became a flourishing seat of the German Reformed theology, where Ursinus and Olevianus taught and composed the Heidelberg Catechism (1563). It acquired also the best library in Germany, the celebrated *Bibliotheca Palatina*, which was captured by Tilly in the Thirty Years' War, presented to the pope, and is now a part of the Vatican library in Rome.

The University of Erfurt, founded by Urban VI., in 1389, was the *alma mater* of Luther, but was abolished in 1816.

The University of Leipzig was founded in 1409 by the secession of students from Prague. It was first opposed to the German Reformation, and sided with Eck in the famous disputation of 1519, but since 1539 it became a chief seat of Lutheran theology.

The University of Ingoldstadt dates from 1472 and opposed the Reformation under the lead of Dr. Eck.

The University of Tübingen was established in 1477 by Count Eberhard and embraced from the start the four faculties. There Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), taught scholastic theology in its last stage of decline. There Melanchthon studied. There the theological seminary called *Stift*, was established in 1536, which became a training school of an illustrious succession of Protestant divines down to this day.

The last German University of the Middle Ages is that of Wittenberg, which was founded in 1502 by Frederick III. or the Wise, the Elector of Saxony, and placed under the patronage of the Virgin Mary and St. Augustin. It acquired a world-wide fame and influence by the Protestant Reformation. Luther was called from Erfurt in 1508, and Melanchthon, became professor of Greek in 1518.

Germany has at present twenty universities, most of which were established since the Reformation.

LIST OF MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITIES.

The number of universities founded during the Middle Ages and before the Reformation exceeds sixty. The following is a list arranged according to countries, with the year of their foundation or charter :¹

I. ITALY: Salerno (for medicine, 9th century?). Bologna (for law, 12th century). Reggio (12th century). Modena (12th century). Vicenza (1204). Padua (1222). Naples (1224, chartered by Emperor Frederick II., for theology, law and medicine). Vercelli (1228). Piacenza (1248). Arezzo (13th century). Rome (1303, by Boniface VIII.). Perugia (1308, Clement V.). Treviso (1318). Verona (1339, Benedict XII.). Pisa (1343). Florence (1349). Siena (1357). Lucca (1387). Pavia (1389). Ovieto (1377). Ferrara (1391). Fermo (1398).

¹ Compare the tables of Denifle, Vol. I., 807-10 (chronological, to 1400), and in "Encycl. Brit.," XXIII., 858. A list of German universities, Protestant as well as Catholic, in Schaff, *Germany*, pp. 29 sqq.

Landshut 1802, and from thence to Munich 1826). Tübingen (1477). Mainz (1477). Wittenberg (1502).¹

VIII. SWITZERLAND: Geneva (1559, by Calvin, reconstructed 1872). Basel (1459, Pius II.).

IX. SCANDINAVIA: Upsala (1477). Copenhagen (1479).

X. HOLLAND: The universities of Holland are of modern Protestant origin, namely: Leyden (1575). Franeker (1585). Harderwijk (1600). Groningen (1614). Utrecht (1634). Amsterdam (1877).

XI. The universities of BELGIUM, with the exception of Louvain (Löwen, 1426), are likewise modern, but Roman Catholic or liberal: Ghent (1816). Liege (1817). Brussels (1834).

Salerno is the oldest university, dating from the 9th century, but was confined to the study of medicine (in connection, perhaps, with the monastery of Monte Cassino, where that study was cultivated).² In 1231 it was constituted by Frederick II. the only school of medicine in the kingdom of Naples, but was subsequently overshadowed by the University of Naples, which had likewise a medical faculty. It has long ceased to exist.

At present the kingdom of Italy has twenty-one universities; the largest are those of Naples, Turin, Bologna, Rome, Palermo, Padova, Pavia, Genova.

¹ The Protestant Universities of Germany are: Wittenberg (1502, transferred to Halle 1815, and reduced to a seminary for candidates of the ministry who have finished the university course). Frankfort-on-Oder (1505, transferred to Breslau in 1811). Marburg (1527). Königsberg (1544). Jena (1558). Helmstädt (1576, abolished in 1809). Altdorf (1578, abolished 1807). Giessen (1607). Rinteln (1621, abolished 1809). Strassburg (1621, renewed as a German university 1872). Dorpat in Russia (founded by Gustavus Adolphus 1632, reconstructed by Alexander I. 1802; thoroughly German till 1886, when the Russian language was substituted in the lecture room). Herborn (1654). Duisburg (1655, abolished 1804). Kiel (1665). Halle (1694). Breslau (1702). Göttingen (1737). Erlangen (1743). Berlin (1810). Bonn (1818). To these may be added two Protestant Universities of German Switzerland, Zürich (1832) and Bern (1834), besides Basel, Geneva, Lausanne and Neuchatel, which are also Protestant.

² Denifle, I., 232-237. Others connect Salerno with the studies of the Saracens in Sicily.

IV.

CONSERVATISM AND RADICALISM IN THEOLOGY.

BY REV. C. CLEVER, D.D.

IN every great movement there will always be a serious conflict between the conservative and radical elements that enter into it. Without this there would be no progress. These two forces will as inevitably be present as oxygen and hydrogen in water, and they must be reckoned with in making up the ultimate issue, as well as the travail through which the movement must pass before it reaches its heaven-appointed goal. It will not do to cling with irrational constancy to the old. It is not the part of highest wisdom to rush with irrational haste to the acceptance of the new.

There are warnings in God's word against either of these courses. There are not only intimations, but absolute commands that we should make the fullest account of conservatism, in its contest for its rights, against a false radicalism, and in like manner that we should welcome any new movement, that would aid humanity in reaching a higher plateau on its triumphal march to the sunlit heights of its millennial glory. The old paths are not to be abandoned simply because they are old. The old wine is not to be cast away because the old vessel in which it is contained may not accord with the fashionable upstart who chances to cast a grin of contempt upon it. It is just possible that the distinctive utterances of the Bible bearing upon this point are pre-eminently in favor of conservatism. But while its utterances favor conservatism, its whole construction implies a radicalism. From the earliest dawn of Divine revelation there is development. This development is not always

along the quiet paths of peace. The old dies hard. The advance, in the kingdom of God, is through much tribulation. Samuel is loath to appoint a king, yet the monarchy is an advance upon that which had gone before. Prophetism, a child of the monarchy, is a marked advance upon anything that had been attained under the patriarchal rule, or of that of the judges. The antithesis is always painful, but without it there could have been no synthesis.

That we are in the whirl of a great revolution, in theological thought, must be evident to every one. The most sluggish conservatism begins to wipe its eyes and clarify its vision to catch the headland of some favored harbor where it may find security. "An inevitable revolution," says Matthew Arnold, "of which we all recognize the beginnings and signs but which has really spread, perhaps, farther than most of us think is befalling the religion in which we have been brought up." Munger also speaks of this as being at hand. He seems to think that the great problem of this present time is to show the possibility of thinking under the principle of evolution and at the same time to remain Christian believers.

Timid spirits in the storm and stress of this crisis are disposed to hide in the cellar of conservatism, rather than look out upon the storm cloud and, unawed by the lurid glare of the lightning, to see behind it all the Saviour, coming to bring His people to a new shore of deliverance. One of the great problems of this age is to preserve all that was good in the old, and recognize heartily all that is good in the new. Blessed are the Barnabases, who will grasp with a warm heart and hand these new comers and introduce them to the old, so that the old and the new can reach out after something that is still nearer that ideal which Christ saw, when He set His disciples about that great task which He confided to them and their successors.

The purpose of this paper is to set forth the rights, the hopes, the dangers of conservatism and radicalism in theological thought. The time has come for a new theology. "It is in the nature of things impossible that there should be a New

Science, a New Politics and a New Philosophy and not also a New Theology. The one is no more to be dreaded than the other; and the philosophic mind will be equally unready in each instance to rush to the conclusion that the new is wholly true or wholly false." * In looking calmly at the signs of the times, with but a faint streak of optimism in our nature, we can hear Jesus saying with apocalyptic earnestness, "Behold I make all things new." The men who speak to the new age a peace that passeth all understanding, are speaking with new tongues. The choral singers, who encourage the sturdy toilers as they are setting the pillar of truth with new security upon the old foundations, are singing a new song. The lazy and indolent may not catch the inspiration that is abroad, but the men who are abreast with the needs of the age are snuffing it up like mountain air is caught up by a panting sufferer. That which is designated the New Theology, is the most conspicuous fact of our time. It has not forced itself with holy obtrusiveness upon the conservatism of the ages. It has had the vision vouchsafed unto it while on the housetop praying and hungering. It has heard the call even while trying to go some other way. "The most obvious occasion for this accelerated movement in theology has been the progress of knowledge in other directions, more especially in science. This advance of knowledge has forced a reconstruction of the religious idea of the origin of the world, of the order and dependence of physical events, of the time occupied by them and of the part they play in developments." † There are those who are disposed to call this a young parvenu, that shall find itself soon stranded, when once put out to the great sea of human life, seething and surging with its suffering men and women, who cry out, "How long, O Lord, how long, holy and just and true!" With prophetic solemnity it has already entered the hearts of the people and exclaims, "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise."

Its presence provokes uneasiness. Many things which have

* Abbott's *Evolution of Christianity*, page 101.

† Bascom's *The New Theology*.

been hitherto adored must be put aside. Heirlooms have no place amid the solemn questionings of the hour. Intellectual royalties and lordships are anachronisms. The disenfranchised intellect and spirit dare call no man lord, for one is our Master, even Christ. Phillips Brooks says, "Never forget to tell the young people frankly that they are to expect more light and larger development of the truth which you give them. Oh, the souls which have been made skeptical by the mere clamoring of new truth to add itself to that which they have been taught to think finished and final." * Dr. Edwards A. Park says, "Infidelity is the ultimate result of checking the desire for expanded knowledge. The splendid prophecies of this age will not allow us to stand betwixt two worlds—one dead, one powerless to be born." Lay your fingers for a moment upon the pulse throbs that are felt in the writings of Erskine, Campbell, MacLeod, Maurice, Stanley, Robertson, Julius and Augustus Hare, Bushnell and others of the same ilk, and I am sure hope will take the place of despair; and that which looked like the mellow tints of evening will be all aglow with the promise of day. These radical leaders of theological thought have discovered the eternal purpose running through the ages, divined by the poet. God is having clearer testimonies, and men are coming out into the clearer light.

Radicalism is called upon to give us better forms in which to express the old thought. New Theology is not new religion. It is not for a new record of Revelation, much less a new revelation that men are seeking after. Genuine radicalism stands reverently before the closing thoughts of the book of Revelation. It remains with folded hands even though the ark may shake a little, and it will not put forth its little finger to touch it, lest it die. It will not offer strange fire before the Lord, feeling that the earth might justly open itself and swallow it up.

The age is full of the new wine of a revived theology. There is a tenderness about the declaration of judgments of God. The imprecatory Psalms are read softly. The wrath of the Lamb

* Princeton Review for March, 1879, page 309.

is preached in all its fullness. "The movement which we designate as the new theology owes much of its vigor to a renewed effort to unite the pietism of religion and the virtue of morality to a higher, wider, deeper spiritualism which shall have the mastery of ideas in their practical development, and by this practical development shall rise continually into purer and more just conceptions of them. This union of the present with the future, the life that now is with the life that ought to be; this meeting God in the works of God, this making revelation the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, are the substance of the new theology; new only in casting aside mischievous limitations of faith, and giving it free play once in the work of interpretation, correction and inspiration which falls to it. Faith that was ceasing to grow is planted in fresh soil and becomes again the tree of life, bearing twelve manner of fruits and yielding its fruit every month; while its leaves are for the healing of the nations." *

This new wine of nineteenth century thought and Christianity can not be put into the old wineskins of sixteenth century diction. A sixteenth century vocabulary would no more meet the demands of the present time than a sixteenth century rain-fall or sunshine would ripen the grain which has been planted in the ground by an industrious husbandman of the nineteenth century. New thoughts demand new clothing. New ideas demand to be incarnated in a living language. The Christianity of the early ages had to make for itself a new language. Even the substantial elements of Judaism must suffer themselves to be put into new wineskins of evangelical diction. The Paulism of the Reformation could no more clothe itself in Petrinistic expressions and get to itself its predestined victory than David could conquer the giant of Gath in the armor of Saul. And it is like manner the Johnanistic thought, which is surely at hand, can not be satisfied with the old vocabulary of the Paulinistic age. A new age demands new men, but it also demands a new language. It is to Radicalism to give to us this new language.

* Reason, the New Theology page 9.

No one is shocked when comparing the language of the 1st Epistle of John with some of the best of the early books of the Bible. We are in a new intellectual and spiritual atmosphere, and new expressions are needed to convey the thoughts to those who are waiting to receive them. The many things which Christ has yet to say unto His Church must be expressed in a language steeped in the Spirit. It must be the expression of the divine-human linguistic energy of the consecrated life and thought of XIXth century Christianity.

In this movement, however, Radicalism must not ruthlessly cast aside that which is old. It may be decaying away, but it need not be trampled in the dust. Such illogical dealing does violence to all history and provokes an opposition from the old that is oftentimes justifiable. Iconoclastic energy is misspent, when it proposes to destroy the old with ghoulish glee. No one can read any of the productions of the left wing of rationalism without feeling the lack of that warmth of spirit which, while being compelled to do away with the old proceeds with the task as though it were painful, instead of pleasant. No one ever realizes more clearly that the old must vanish away, than the Great Head of the Church. He clearly saw that Judaism must decrease before the ever-growing sunlight of Christianity. No sons ever carried the dead body of a loving mother more carefully, or deposited it more tenderly in the ground than Christ, when He must consign Judaism to its resting-place among the many systems that previously had their day then ceased to be. He is proud that He is a Jew. He is as guarded as possible that the old shall not be offended more than is absolutely necessary.

Such also is Paul, who was the coryphæus of ancient protestantism. His first effort always is to reach the synagogue, and come to an understanding with the Jews. He reasons with them, putting a strained honor upon their position, and showing at all points how Christianity is but the flowering out of Judaism. When he has reached Rome he calls the chief of the Jews together, in order that he might, if possible, forestall any misconception about himself or his work that might have arisen

from the gossip that had preceded him. It was only after every effort had been put forth, and the Jews showed themselves wholly unworthy that he turned away from them. And when he did so turn away from them, it was the most painful experience of his life.*

Nothing so unhistorical and unchristian as that false radicalism which pits itself against conservatism with a jeer, instead of a tear. No man, filled with the Spirit of Christ, would ever demolish the old with glee. No man can do it who is permeated with that spirit of kindness which the latter day has made so conspicuous. There are occasional "qualms of heart-sick agony" in Strauss' *Old Faith and New*, but in a few lines he is in the same irreverent, iconoclastic spirit.

This arises oftentimes from not apprehending the real significance of the conflict, or the exact point in the old, against which the energy of radicalism is to be pitted. The theology that is opposed is a fossil thing. It is not the every-day, working leaven that, under the Spirit of God, has become living in the Church. It is a man of straw that has been set up for the pleasure of receiving, with Quaker-like irresistance, the wit and raillery of an unbelieving orator or author.

It arises also from a lack of appreciation of the past. The past was not all in error. Gladstone has well expressed it: "No greater calamity can happen to a people than to break utterly with the past." Historical continuity is one of the brightest gems in the diadem of thought with which the waning century is crowned. Here conservatism has a legitimate right which must be acknowledged. The uncivilized Indian must disappear before the westward march of empire, but it is an eternal shame that he has been pushed, that he has been so uncere- moniously driven from his hunting grounds, without the simplest acknowledgment of his natural rights. Conservatism must yield before the healthy growth of radicalism, but it need not be ashamed of what it has done. Augustinianism and Hypercalvinism has been the butt of much witticism in these latter

* Pressense's "Apostolic Era," page 97.

days. But in all Christian history nothing sublimer has yet appeared. Augustinianism saved the Church of the middle ages and gave to us the Reformers. Calvinism undoubtedly crystallized the scattered thoughts of the sixteenth century, and saved the Church during the rise and reign of deism and rationalism. It is Froude who says in substance : Calvinism has possessed singular attractions for some of the greatest men that ever lived. It has obliterated the distinction between sins and crimes, and made the moral law the rule of life for states as well as persons. It has been able to inspire and sustain the bravest efforts ever made by man to break the yoke of unjust authority. It has borne ever an inflexible front to illusion and mendicity, and has preferred rather to be ground to powder like flint than to bend before violence or melt under enervating temptation.* It is popular to speak of the great moral influence in a tone and with a spirit somewhat akin to that with which we would speak of a folly, that, having been followed, led the devotees out into the desert wastes to die, because there was no water to drink.

The same vein of disrespect is found running through radicalism, for all that is old and about to vanish away. When conservatism asserts its rights and claims a hearing, while radicalism is about to sweep all before it, men become impatient. The new could not exist without the old, and the new can never establish itself with any security for future usefulness without doing the fullest justice to the old. "The theology of the future ought to retain all of the truth which was successively contributed by Oriental, by Greek and by Roman thought; for in the evolution of Christian Theology each of these three phases of thought made a valuable addition to the religious life of Christendom, an addition which we cannot afford to despise and cast away.† All three theologies contributed something toward the theology of the future: Orientalism, the reality of the spiritual and its corollaries; Grecism,

* Froude's "Short Studies on Great Subjects," Vol. II., page 18.

† Abbott's "Evolution of Christianity," page 93.

the divine immanence and its corollaries; Romanism, the divine transcendence and its corollaries." *

There are pages of theological history and pages of theological thought that bring a blush to every honest student of history. It would seem as if the glow of a living Christianity had faded from the earth. Men in the highest station and most richly endowed are bringing forth no fruits meet for Him by whom they were strengthened and raised up. They are maimed and robbers, saving their lives but losing them unto life eternal. These, however, are only excrescences, which a healthy growth sloughs away, and leaves the body a meet dwelling-place for the Holy Ghost.

Some one has sneeringly remarked that a century or more of Christian history was wasted upon an iota. Guizot, however, with a keener insight, says that all subsequent Christian history depended upon the proper position of an iota. The conduct of the controversy was not always in the spirit of the meek and gentle Nazarene, but upon its proper issue depended whole movements of Christian life and liberty.

In all controversy we must carefully discriminate between the form and the substance, between the transient and the permanent. The substantial and the permanent are as abiding as the hills. The former might as well reckon without taking into account the ground upon which he expects to sow as for a theologist to grow into permanence and meet in any way the new demands, without considering that which has been received from the past. Radicalism must be careful not to throw away the kernel with the shell. That which coming from the past, is dead, must be laid away, but that which is living and abiding must be wrought into the thought and life of that which is new and strong. — The theology of the future must aim at absorbing all that was good in the old rationalism, and also in the old mysticism, and not violently divided. The new theology is thus distinct from the old, and yet it is its legitimate descendant and its descendant. Parents and child may

misunderstand each other, as is often the case, and busy flatterers and mockers on both sides may make mischief by widening the breach which they should desire to close. But we need not be shaken in our faith in an ultimate reconciliation of old and new forms of truth by these alarms." *

Historically it has been demonstrated that the more securely the old is taken up and imbedded in the new, the more lasting and powerful has been its influence. The old will drag the new down into a compromise unless its rights are acknowledged. The difference between a revolution and a reformation is measured, in a certain sense, by the relative value that is put upon the old. If this be properly respected, and conservatism become a balance-wheel instead of a clog, we have a reformation. History is not then broken up into a conglomeration of heterogeneous fragments, but is a sublime course of divine empire on the earth. If the old is cast aside, like the worn-out clouts of a beggar, and radicalism rashly sweeps on to the attainment of its own selfish ends, without any consideration for the honest toilers of the past, we have revolutions. These are not always so conducive to the onward march of the divine-human order in human life. The goal of Christianity is sometimes more nearly gained by a revolution, but it is then God making the wrath of man praise Him, and restraining the remainder of wrath. It is gained through a miraculous interposition, by which the shattered fragments of human society and of the Christian Church are made to coalesce again, under the immediate interference of the heavenly and divine. Revolutions may sometimes be necessary to break up the fallow ground and prevent the new age from sowing among the briars and thorns of an effete conservatism. In Christian history the issue or need of revolutions superinduced by a false radicalism that has done violence to the past are at least very questionable.

When father conservatism and son radicalism will work together, we will have reformation. Peace instead of violence will be the moving force by which the end will be accomplished.

* Heard's "Old and New Theology," page 10.

All the glory of all the ages will shine upon the path of all that is good and true and holy in the new. Then the old will fall into the ways of the new, and the new will consort with the old without any annoyance. The wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove will go together. The experience and wisdom and knowledge of conservatism will be married to the enthusiasm courage and holy venturesomeness of radicalism. Reformations will become the common experiences of the Christian Church and our age will soon feel the thrill of an eternal morning. It is when Strauss has severed himself entirely from the glory of the old and can not understand how a place can be found in it for the new, that he asks the question, Are we still Christians? and answers it with an unqualified no. We must be willing that the kingdom of heaven should suffer violence, and that the violent should take it by force; but till the new has established its right to be, fault can not be found with us if we cherish and cling to the old. The old may be ready to vanish away, but we cannot afford to let it go till we have clearly heard the message it has to deliver to us; and have discerned fully the way along which it directs the young and inexperienced energies with which we have to deal.

One of the most serious mistakes of radicalism is to insist upon its conclusions as being the ultimatum of truth and life. Standing as it does in the midst of the dismembered fragments of other systems of other ages, it sets up its own with a supercilious confidence that is truly astounding. Lyman Abbott says, without attempting to distinguish the various elements which have contributed to produce the new theology, "I endeavor to give briefly its most characteristic features, describing what it aims to be; that is, describing it as a tendency rather than as a finished product." But all are not so mild in their demands for that which is new. Claims are made which sound surprisingly strange, for that which is still on trial, and has scarcely proved its right to a hearing. It may be possible that the new must be boosted by a fiery enthusiasm and a holy recklessness. It may need a superabundance of assertion to

get an honest hearing at the hands of those who have been rooted and grounded in the old. It may require the dash, which at times looks reckless, before it can settle down into the steady tread of the heavy armed soldier. This period is attended with dangers, which, unless controlled, may undo all that upon which so many hopes are centered, and upon which so many splendid powers are ready to be expended.

Radicalism in theology must then be less confident in its assertions. It must be willing to allow some of its goods to remain in quarantine, for at least a short time. It must learn to be more modest in the claims it makes upon the faith and generosity of those whose allegiance it seeks. It must give us time to prove all things, the old as well as the new, and then allow us to hold fast to that which is good. It may give us the invitation to come and see, with all the holy fervor of a newly-converted man, but it dare not with the same fervor insist that we are going to the bad, because we hesitate to accept its conclusions. Radicalism like youth cannot easily brook delays. It has but little respect, in the earlier days of its effort, for the cold logic of events even. It is at this period that it makes the dreadful mistake of claiming for itself a constituency and consistency which subsequent events disprove. It then not only vitiates its own province and power, but necessitates over-caution in all future developments. In this way the old grounds itself more securely, and is allowed to assume an integrity which it could never claim under right circumstances. Great hearts and noble energies, which otherwise would be found in the radical camp, swing over into a false conservatism and die on Nebo, instead of going over into the promised land. It is for Christian theology to guard with the jealousy of Moses and Samuel the honor of the old. But it must at the same time welcome and foster with a parental tenderness the new thoughts forced upon us by the new conditions in which we live. Though the mount of the last century, yea of the last decade, were a mount of transfiguration, blazing with the splendors of the Lamb in the midst of the throne, and redolent with the con-

versation of the saints, it is the voice of God speaking unto us now, and saying, "Ye have dwelt long enough in this mount." Pointing us unmistakably to heights lit with greater splendors of the millennial glory, He bids us go up and possess them. Conservatism is tempted to play the part of the spies who disheartened the children of Israel; radicalism is tempted to go up presumptuously, without having first driven out the Achan of pride and selfishness. The former should earnestly pray, "O Lord, open mine eyes that I may behold the new things out of the treasury of Thy grace;" the latter, "O Lord open mine heart that I may reverence the old things out of Thy treasury which have been the consolation and comfort of the ages."

The vision will be materially clarified and the relative positions of conservatism and radicalism acknowledged, if the distinction between Christianity as a revelation and Christianity as a theology once becomes clear. Conservatism and radicalism must both start with Christianity as a revelation. Here there can be no trimming or dodging. The objective facts must be owned for all they are worth. Age only betters them, as new wine grows in value by the flight of the years. The new age with all its discoveries only brings them out more clearly, as the mountain range is glorified by the coming of the newly-risen sun. "Theology as a science must stand in the same relation to the facts of revelation as the physical sciences do to the facts of the universe." * Its development then demands rational processes. There is always liability to the intrusion of human error. Conservatism is disposed to set up a howl of dismay while the scaffolding is being taken down, when the building is finished; radicalism is disposed to throw down the scaffolding before the corner-stone is securely deposited in its place. With the clearer apprehension of the objective facts of revelation, an end oftentimes and in a greater or less degree always due to radicalism in theology, will come a steadier faith. "The great desideratum for robust faith is just that formulated doctrine

* Row's Bampton Lectures, page 17.

which results from the scientific study of theology." * The agitations then of theological radicalism are hopeful. The age strenuously strives to a clearer apprehension of truth. Men have listened to the goodly reports of conservatism, but are now coming or have already come to see for themselves, that the Christ of the first century is also the Christ of the nineteenth century. They are assuring themselves that He who could so triumphantly permeate the life of the old Roman world, and what remained of the Greek world, can also permeate the complicated life and activities of this the grandest era of all the ages. Conservatism warns us that in much wisdom there is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow (Ecc. 1 : 18). Yet radicalism pays the price, and through much intellectual travail enters into the kingdom of God. John Milton well said, "Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field we do injuriously, by licensing and prohibiting, to misdoubt her strength." "The cry should be not less intellect, less study, less culture, but simply more heart, more prayer, more godliness, more subjection of culture to the salvation of those who have little or none of it." † Or perhaps the whole has been expressed by Dr. Henry B. Smith in a nutshell. ‡ "If ever the service of the ministry was a routine it is no longer such. There is no research of scholarship, no philological skill, no power of historical investigation, no mastery in philosophy, no largeness of imagination, no grace of life and character, no practical self-denial, no gift of eloquence to man by the written or spoken word, no energy of character, no practical sagacity, no polemical acuteness, no wisdom of counsel, which may not find the fullest employment and which are not needed by the Christian Church. It wants its men of fire, its men of piety, its men of large discourse, its laborers in our streets and lanes, its men of calm philosophy, its heroes and saints, especially does it want its trained band to meet both Pope and pagan."

* Cave's Introduction to Theology, page 10.

† Phelps on Preaching, page 585. ‡ Introduction to Theology, pages 23, 24.

V.

THOUGHTS ON PREACHING.

BY REV. A. R. KREMER, D. D.

THE passage in 1 Cor. 1:21, has sounded strangely to many person even tolerably well versed in Holy Scripture: "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe."

It is within the memory of many now living that preaching was thought to be for some profound reason properly called foolishness; and many a child, and adult too, was bewildered by the solemn voice from the pulpit, in which that passage formed part of a sentence without even a hint of the connection in which the apostle used the words; and the passive hearers, of them, took it in to grapple with it as best they could, or let it rest in some corner of the mind, not venturing to disturb it in its *otium cum dignitate*, or to attempt an excursion to the discovery of what it might really mean. It was there, and that was enough in those days of literalism and hoary traditions in regard to inspiration. It was said then that if the Bible, in any part, would be found to call white black there must be no investigation in regard to it, except that commentators (because that was their business) were expected to show, elaborate arguments, the truth and perfect consistency of such apparent contradiction. In this way Biblical historical statements not agreeing with universally accepted and proved ones were tinkered and manipulated, in order to reach a foregone and predetermined conclusion. There was really no distinction made or allowed between the imperfect human language of the Bible and the infallible word of God itself. The Word

of God and the medium of its communication were supposed to be one; the English and the German versions holding this position no less than the original Hebrew and Greek. Every word in Luther's Bible was held to be infallible by German readers, and King James' English version was similarly regarded; yet the two do not by any means agree in every particular. But the people settled all that by asking no questions (like good children); or they were told, *ex cathedra*, that it was all right. So the "foolishness of preaching" was supposed to express, by itself, though in a queer way, the sum of benefits received by men from God.

It may be presumed, however, that, after some study of the context, it has become plain enough even to the common mind that St. Paul, by way of retort, only used, ironically, the contemptuous language of opponents in reference to his doctrine; as if he would say: What you call foolishness is the highest wisdom, even the wisdom of God; and by *such* foolishness believers are saved. At the same time, many have understood or assumed that preaching *per se* is here discussed by the Apostle, and its supreme importance affirmed as the almost only real work of the Christian minister; thus using only one part of his argument, an incomplete proposition,—a "text"—to establish the view that the sermon holds the chief if not the only place in the work of evangelizing and saving the world; the correctness of which being regarded as fully established by the Apostle's declaration, in the same argument: "For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel." This has often been quoted as proving that baptism is of no great importance, especially as compared with preaching. It is another example of the false use that is made of Holy Scripture, and not a whit more respectable than the notion that Paul's "foolishness of preaching" is to be literally understood.

Akin to this forcing of Scripture in the interest of a cherished traditional notion is the use made of St. John 5:39, where Christ is supposed to lay down a fundamental law on the universal duty of searching the Scriptures. The verb, *ἐρευνᾶτε*,

is both imperative and indicative in form, and if read either way we arrive at the same conclusion, namely, that Christ is the substance of the Old Testament revelation; but the indicative, not the imperative, corresponds with the whole thought in the discourse, especially with this, that the unbelieving Jews did search the Scriptures, but only as to the letter, and never found in them the only real and saving Truth, that is, Christ the Son of Man, whom they, contrary to the Scriptures, rejected as being also the Son of God. Two things, then, have become law and gospel with many: a one-sided notion of an "open Bible" for all men to read and search, with but weak acceptance of the Bible's teaching concerning the heaven-born mystery of the Church, her constitution, authority, and holy ordinances; and a one-sided notion about preaching as the one means of saving men. Not that there can be too much real study of the Bible, or too incessant preaching of the gospel; but these should be maintained in their proper relations in the Kingdom and Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.

St. Paul, in the place referred to at the beginning of this article, has no argument on the importance of preaching as a means, or *the* means, of converting the world to Christ and preparing men for heaven. He is combating the notion of the Greeks that the doctrine of Christ crucified is unworthy the consideration and belief of educated and refined people like themselves; that on the contrary it contains the best, holiest and most beautiful of all truths, the sum of all moral truth, that which saves the souls of men from the consequences of error, makes them free, and raises them up to the perfect state in the everlasting kingdom of God. He declared that such doctrine, if foolishness, was of a kind that the omniscient God held as the highest wisdom, and could therefore be no foolishness at all. And "the foolishness of preaching"—or "preaching," as here spoken of—must be considered primarily in reference to the fact, or incident, that was the occasion of this inspired utterance. And, according to the Revised Version, St. Paul does not really say "foolishness of preaching," but—

"*the* preaching," which means something distinct and definite, that is, the doctrinal substance of what was preached, or more literally rendered from the Greek, "the thing preached." It was this that was called foolishness by the Greeks, to which Paul retorted: "It was God's good pleasure through the 'foolishness' of the preaching to save them that believe." And "*the* preaching," or the thing preached, was Christ crucified—the power and wisdom of God.

We are not then to understand St. Paul as discussing the relative importance of preaching and of the performance of sacramental offices, with the argument in favor of preaching as the *more* important. And yet the inference is indubitable that while the prophetical, priestly and kingly offices of the ministry (and of the whole Church) belong together and are one, the prophetical holds a certain primacy over the other two. It lays the foundation and prepares the way for them; it both precedes and follows, and enters into and abides with them, so that the three are never separated, no more in the minister and Church than in Christ Himself. The prophet preaches in the pulpit, or wherever he holds forth the word of life; and he also preaches when he performs service at the font and altar—when he prays as the mouth-piece of the congregation, not only with the Spirit but with the understanding also; and when he rules and exercises Christian discipline in the Church. These three are one and inseparable, and they who disarrange them, or magnify any one of them at the expense of the others, commit a great wrong. Still, not all can be *first*, and the prophetical office is first.

After the giving of the Holy Ghost and the simultaneous organization of the Church, the first sermon was preached that contained all the elements of Christian truth. Peter's sermon must be regarded not only as a model for all time, but also as indicating the supreme importance of preaching as the right hand of God in slaying sin and converting the world to Christ. The effect of that sermon and the sermon itself are sufficient to show the design and character of the preaching office. It was in full harmony with the general order as expressed in the

great commission. It was full and rich, overflowing with the truths of Christ's redemption, and the result was a great ingathering of souls into the kingdom of God.

But that initial sermon, and model for all time, would have been one-sided and incomplete if the priestly and kingly functions of the Christian ministry had not at once appeared and completed the evangelical work. The prophet taught the now-penitent Jews the doctrine of baptism for the remission of sins, and then led them into the Holy of Holies of Christianity, where they partook of the bread which came down from heaven; he led them as a true shepherd—a king—in the way of righteousness, and in Christ's name and by His authority guided and commanded them in the warfare against sin and Satan. The prophet is first; yet without the priest and king he is only a piece of sounding brass.

It may be well to inquire, from this basis, into the character of apostolic preaching in general. And then we will find that it is in full harmony with the great pentecostal sermon. First of all we have another discourse by St. Peter, as recorded in the third chapter of Acts. It is of the same character as the other, and no less effective. Then St. Paul: what specimens of sermonizing we have from him are in accord with his ground principle, that Christ crucified, risen from the dead, ascended to heaven, glorified as Head over all things to the Church, contained the substance of all true preaching and teaching. All the New Testament epistles and the Book of Revelation—their form, style, contents and animus—are in perfect keeping with the apostolic sermons and the homiletic principles of St. Paul. From these the great apostle never departed; and his success, the great work he accomplished by his preaching, is sufficient proof of their soundness.

It has been said—and the history of preaching illustrates the saying—that the preacher confining himself to the themes indicated by St. Paul is too much bound, and circumscribed by too narrow limits. Especially in our day the demand for variety in the pulpit, if not reasonable, is eminently persistent.

In communities where primitive habits of thought and living prevail, the old gospel of fundamentals, even if delivered on the same key from year to year, is accepted without protest; yet even there an occasional departure from the old and well-beaten path excites a new and lively interest. There must be reason for this. Is it not to be found chiefly in the fact that the Apostle's great theme of "Christ and Him crucified," and his declared purpose to know and preach nothing else, has been misconceived? "Christ crucified" has been largely and strangely interpreted, "The Crucifixion of Christ." Thousands of pulpits—popular ones, too—have rung changes on that. In many instances eloquent and interesting descriptions have been given of the supreme tragedy, under which congregations have been kept reasonably awake. More frequently, however, the oft-repeated story is merely accepted as a proper and orthodox bill of pulpit fare, which the pews are entitled to, and which they take as a matter of course. But the crucifixion does not afford much of that variety which the mind craves; so that when something else is presented, new, lively, and in a manner instructive, there is an immediate awakening, if not to a better life, at least to a refreshed and agreeable mental condition. Then, as it sometimes happens, if occasionally the preacher announces his subject beforehand, and it becomes known that there is to be something new from the pulpit, new life is at once manifest among the people. They long for something fresh and racy, something they can think and talk about,—and not forever the threadbare story of old, even though they must still regard it as sacred, the most sacred of all things. The preacher has described over and over again the scenes of Calvary and everything relating to the cross as an instrument of torture and death; it is all very solemn, and they think that is just what Paul meant about "Christ and Him crucified;" but they know all that and want something new. They are even willing to be amused occasionally by the sermon, if thereby they can get a Sunday airing after hearing for so long a time the same gospel tune.

But just here is an error, not so much on the part of the people as of the preacher, the people sharing in it, however, as the natural result of the voice from the pulpit. The people are right in desiring variety; and the true and full gospel of Christ can furnish more than they can receive and enjoy in a lifetime. St. Paul did not say that he would in every sermon speak of Christ's death on the cross. The Gentile Greeks scouted the idea of serving a deity in the person of a man who had been crucified as a malefactor. The apostle answered by asserting, that "Christ crucified" was the revelation of human depravity, and of the perfection of righteousness; of the ignorance and madness of men, and of the wisdom of God; that the highest conceivable glory was in the infinite condescension as revealed in the Son of God on the cross, and dying as the supreme Martyr and Witness to the truth. But what did that include? Everything which Christ had taught concerning God, His nature and attributes, His redemption of the world through His Son manifested in the flesh; and His law as fully revealed and fulfilled by Himself as the Son of Man. It was *Christ* that St. Paul preached—"the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world"; the Divine Love, as manifested in Christ's works of love and mercy, all culminating in the cross.

All this affords variety most useful and acceptable, unlimited—themes, and themes, all centering in, not the crucifixion but, Christ crucified, presenting the highest, holiest, and most comprehensive doctrine for the everlasting contemplation of men and angels.

Christ without the cross would have been a signal failure, just what Satan wished to make of Him when he encountered Him in the wilderness and used all his cunning arts to divert His course from the path of suffering upon which He had entered and allure Him by promises of earthly happiness and regal power from His high purpose. Christ crucified is the Christ that was manifested in the lowly manger and until He received the seal of His three-fold office at the Jordan; and from His consecration there to His baptism of blood, on to His

resurrection, ascension, and giving of the Holy Ghost. Who will say that *such* a crucified Christ cannot furnish sufficient themes for all and the most gifted preachers of the gospel? And unless the preacher in his preaching is willing to follow the Master from the wilderness of fasting and temptation to the crowning humiliation and suffering of the cross, where death ended the struggle in victory, he would better, if he *must* speak, apply to a lecture bureau for employment.

And now the question comes, How shall Christ, or His doctrine, be preached? Even those preachers who study to please and captivate the multitude admit that it is the preacher's office to preach Christ, and their conscience forces them at times to make the attempt. But they do not go about it in real earnest or follow any proper order. Laboring under the false impression that, after a few sermons on central gospel themes, they have exhausted the whole subject, they again fly off, in zigzag directions, (having appeased the Nemesis within), to gather nectar, or what, from the miscellany spread out before them. A year's sermons of theirs, on examination, would present a medley of things sacred, and otherwise, without unity or connection. These same preachers may be orderly and systematic in other things, but seem to have made special effort to be the very opposite in the matter of preaching. The sermon itself may be in accordance with orthodox homiletic rules, but *the sermons*, in their relation to each other—a curious what-not of unrelated things. Then we find that both preachers and people become dissatisfied with such loose variety; so a departure is made, it being duly announced from the pulpit and in the press that for some time there will be sermons on Bible characters—patriarchs, prophets, heroes; and this becoming monotonous and failing to attract special and unwearied attention, a course of sermons on the vices and follies of the day will be sure to keep people on the look-out; so that the evil day of a general collapse of interest is from time to time removed farther off. But such attempts at general order in preaching only show the necessity of some true order.

The Church—the Christian's Alma Mater—furnishes the true order for the presentation of gospel truth to men. The Church Year, with its holy seasons and Scripture Lessons, is probably the best and most authoritative guide for the preacher in his selection of subjects. "The Church Year," says Lange, "designates the Christian consecration of time to the service of God, whereby the cycle of seasons becomes the symbol and type of the cycle of the evangelical history, and of the great facts of redemption." Truly a *multum*, if not *omne*, in *parvo*. The year is the longest natural period of time of which we have any knowledge in this world. All other periods, except the day, are mechanical divisions or multiplications; as hours, months, and centuries. Therefore the year is a complete miniature of a human life-time, and of eternity itself; and so the Christian life is also miniaturized in the consecrated Year of the Lord and His Church. The idea is that the Christian, being a citizen of two worlds, should be in harmony with both; that the natural year with its seasons, and the Christian year with its sacred parts and lessons, should be one; that as every human life is repeated, so to speak, by every annual cycle, so also man's spiritual life is repeated year by year, every revolution enlarging the circle of spiritual vision. As the natural world revolves around the sun in its annual course, so the Church revolves around her center, Christ, and His light illumines her at all points, His glorious rays falling upon her and imparting life and grace according to her various needs.

Now, where all this is recognized; that is, where churches and ministers of the gospel have an intelligent sense of the kingdom of God as thus conceived and apprehended, the preaching must be of a corresponding character. Christ Himself will be the Alpha and Omega thereof. The Lessons appointed for the year will furnish and suggest the preaching topics. They will follow each other in a really divine order. From the Advent of Christ in the flesh to His coming in glory, the whole scheme of redemption on its objective side, and the whole duty of a Christian man on the subjective side, will be seen in their

true relations, if those living facts and truths are faithfully and intelligently presented.

But in our day of endless variety in knowledge and taste there seem to be demands on the pulpit that cannot be met by following this old gospel order; especially in large towns and cities. Take up any city daily, on Saturday, and read over the pulpit announcements, and it will be seen that if *the people* do not insist on something more novel and startling the preachers *think* they do, as their published topics clearly show. It is imagined that there is a feverish thirst for the sensational; that the Christian as well as the non-Christian public are as curious "to hear some new thing" as were the Athenians eighteen centuries ago; and that such curiosity must be gratified at all hazards. And the object—or main object—seems to be the securing of a large audience and pulpit fame; a temptation which Christ's ambassadors should strenuously resist. It is not true that the office of preaching needs such meretricious aid, unless it is not true that the preaching of Christ crucified is the proclaiming of the power and wisdom of God unto salvation. But that is divinely declared; and the church order, as presented in the lessons of the Christian year, is constructed in reference to that grand idea.

All who have a proper conception of the nature and constitution of the Church agree that the Holy Communion is "the inmost sanctuary of the whole Christian worship." So that all acts of worship look to that one as their center and completion. Now it may be seen by any one capable of properly examining the subject, that there is not a Scripture lesson in all the Church year series that is not suitable and proper for the Communion service. This alone goes far to prove that here is a full and complete guide for the minister in his preaching.

And right here it is important that attention be directed to the fact that the first Epistle to the Corinthians—in which "foolishness of preaching" occurs, and the supposed fling at sacramentalism—is really St. Paul's *sacramental epistle*. In the heart and center of it is the most complete New Testament

statement of the institution of the Lord's Supper. All that precedes it in the Epistle may truly be regarded as preparatory, and all that follows as looking back to it or as being practically deduced from it. St. Paul proves himself in this one of his greatest productions to be the last man on earth to talk about preaching in the modern unchurchly style, and about the sacraments in a nasal pietistic tone of detraction. It is he that teaches us in effect, here and elsewhere, that the pulpit without the altar is a platform for the exhibition of smartness; and that preaching which is not in harmony with all that is contained in the communion of Christ's body and blood is simply trifling with sacred things, and a mockery. The Church Lectionary, the Lessons taken from both the Old and the New Testament, teaches, if it teaches anything, that Christ is always with His people when assembled for worship, and the Order is constructed in reference to such Divine Presence. The idea is that no sermon should be preached that could not consistently be followed by the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Let the preacher and his preaching be tried and judged by this test.

Nor does this Order confine the minister within narrow limits. There is not a proper subject for pulpit discourse that may not be found in, or suggested by, the Church Lessons. If the subject is Temperance, there is no better time to preach on it than the Third Sunday before Lent, or the 14th and the 20th Sunday after Trinity, using the epistles for texts; with little danger of the sermons assuming the form of wild and unseemly stage performances. And so on to the end of what is right for the pulpit.

Then is there no other proper method for the minister to pursue? In answering this question no one should assume infallibility and answer with a positive negative. In advocating the pericopes as presenting the true order in preaching, no iron-clad rule is thought of, as if no other method under any possible circumstances could meet the demands and obligations of the preacher's office. Here, as in many things, the faithful pastor will be governed by circumstances and the peculiar situation

and needs of his people. It is well known that Zwingli, when he began his labors in Zurich, finding the people miserably ignorant of the Scriptures, proceeded at once to instruct them, beginning with the first chapter of Matthew and going on through. He knew that his people needed elementary instruction in the New Testament, and how could he do better than to begin at the beginning. But while he did not just then, for the best of reasons, follow the Church Lectionary in his teaching, yet, commencing as he did on the first day of January, there was really no essential departure from it, as any one familiar with the pericopes can see. His object was a good and benevolent one, and his plan to accomplish it the very best; and we know how well he succeeded. He followed a true order, such as was needed at the time and place.

The order of the Church year is not a Procrustean bed, but is flexible enough for all possible circumstances and conditions. Then too I would be far from saying that only they who follow this order are true gospel preachers. There are congregations that do not know the words of the Apostles' Creed, and yet are taught a pure gospel by faithful and godly ministers. But this may be said: That, other things being equal, those ministers who are thoroughly imbued with the true liturgical spirit, and, as a consequence, with the importance of following the churchly order in the services of the sanctuary, will best fulfill the Lord's great commission to His anointed ambassadors. Theirs is not a partial or one-sided gospel, but a gospel well-rounded and full—however the reverse may appear to some. There is a narrow and offensive churchliness; but true churchliness is broad, Christlike, and possessing all things that are good. So the preacher, if he would be truly successful, both in his pulpit and pastoral work, should be *en rapport* with the spirit and genius of the Holy Catholic Church, in which he professes to believe. Otherwise, like Noah's dove, he is likely to flutter over the deep sea of God's word and never really find a place to rest.

I once heard Dr. Schaff say, that miscellaneous preaching is not of much account; that there should be some kind of order

observed in the presentation of divine truth, and that none is better than that presented in the lessons of the Church Year. Our Dutch brethren, noted for their exactness and orderly ways, follow the Heidelberg catechism in their preaching. There is, as a consequence, no denomination perhaps whose laity are more thoroughly indoctrinated in the fundamentals of Christian truth. And no doubt this order is a good one, and even preferable to that of the Church Year, unless the latter is at least fairly understood—in its general scope and in all its particulars. This needs to be studied as well as the catechism, and must be, in order to be seen in all its excellence and fulness as presenting the historic facts and truths of the Christian salvation. It will then be seen that the Church Year is better as a pulpit guide than the catechism; for the catechism, as a systematic confession of faith and method of elementary instruction, is indeed a dogmatic presentation of the gospel, in proper order, yet it does not strictly coincide with the order of time in our natural human life. The two are closely related, and yet neither one should take the place of the other—the catechism fulfilling the office of elementary doctrinal instruction, the other evolving out of the dogmatic elements the fruits and developments of the Christian life. There is room here for the exercise of the best pulpit talent, for the greatest variety, for preaching year by year the most really attractive, and the most fruitful in good results.

There is disorder, rather than order, in much of the preaching in our day, which often presents a mere caricature of St. Paul's great "foolishness." Literally *foolishness*, without trope or irony. There may be more general culture, and more of what is called education, than formerly, in the ministry of the various Christian denominations, but it is a question whether there has not been a falling away from the true apostolic dignity and purity that should characterize all pulpits efforts. There is evidence of clerical rivalry, for instance, that is most unseemly, and the bad spirit accompanying it crops out in the pulpit in a manner that shows unmistakably that the preacher

is too much concerned about his reputation as an orator. Such men reject with pity or contempt the churchly order and regard it as "foolishness," in the very same spirit that the Greeks so regarded "the thing preached" by St. Paul. They tax their ingenuity to find startling "texts," that may mean little, much, or nothing out of their connection, and thoughts (or word pictures) that will quiver and coruscate when discharged from their eloquent lips to the infinite delight of their auditories. They advertise themselves as a shop-keeper advertises his wares. One of these, groaning for a subject for the next Sunday's pulpit display, at last exclaims (to himself), "Eureka!" and Saturday's daily tell us that his Reverence proposes to entertain all who will come within sound of his eloquent voice, on the bright and tender subject, "Give the girl a chance." Another candidate for celebrity, as if to outdo his gallant brother, or be even with him, invites the public to come and hear him on: "What are you going to do about it?" Another pulpiteer publishes his card containing the sharp caveat: "Keep off the track!" We cite one more out of the great number—and this one needs and merits the sympathy of all who ever endured the horrors of dyspepsia. His benevolence is admirable; in his misery he feels like raising his voice against that most provoking of all demons, and so announces his subject: "The cake is all dough." Let this suffice. It would almost seem that those preachers made up their minds to take Paul at his literal word; for doubtless a considerable part of their pulpit efforts might be justly entitled "foolishness of preaching."

These are some of the men who are so fearfully alarmed about the spread of Romanism in America. And in this at least they are right. They have good reason to be alarmed; for Rome is quietly watching their "foolishness," and only waiting for the day when it will cease to attract any but the most careless multitude, when, seizing her opportunity, she hopes to draw into her fold souls longing for rest and peace, to throw around them the splendor and attractions of her gorgeous ritual, and confirm them in the faith of "Holy Church" by her

direct, simple, and authoritative gospel truth—cunningly mixed with the poison of her irreformable errors and superstitions. She will fail in this only if the true gospel is “truly preached and truly followed” by the evangelical Church.

There is no thought or design here to disparage pulpit talent and genius, or to curb their proper and full exercise; for there is more than sufficient room for them in the field indicated by the Church in her sacred curriculum.

This view concerning preaching implies necessarily, as before remarked, that the service of the altar is of like importance with that of the pulpit. Zechariah the prophet receives the divine revelations, and communicates them to the king and to the high priest. The king and the priest are represented by the two olive trees supplying the Church with light, power and grace. No one is sufficient without the others. The three are one, though distinct, and the Lord God will permit no separation; what He has joined together let no one attempt to put asunder, whether directly by formal declaration, or indirectly by virtually making the preaching overshadow all else beside, thus stripping the sanctuary of God of its true sacredness and character. The angel tells the prophet that the two olive trees—the governor (or king) and the high priest—“are the two anointed ones that stand by the Lord of the whole earth.” See Zech., Chap. 4. This does not agree at all with much that is thought concerning preaching. Only recently a very respectable minister at a church service alluded in his opening prayer to all the services before sermon as “preliminary exercises”; by which he seemed to mean—a customary and decent way of killing time before opening the throttle and letting drive. Another very aged minister has expressed the opinion that the coming generation, because of the perfection of the phonograph, will not need go to church. People could recline on easy chairs in their own parlors, start the machine, get “preliminary exercises,” sermon and all, even the benediction.

Such sentiments are not confined to a few persons, but are entertained by a large part of the Christian public. They

think that going to church is simply going to hear what this or that man has to say; or perhaps also to hear artistic vocal and instrumental music. The remedy against such evil spreading and completing its bad work is in the preacher and his preaching; not as a self-willed, independent, vagrant pulpit orator, but as a man of God, a successor of St Paul, who paid not the slightest attention to the depraved taste, the demands, the mockings, of his day, but hurled into the ranks of all opposing him whether Jew or Gentile, king or slave, the one word by which he shook the world's empire to its center: "I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

Berlin, Pa., Feb. 4, 1893.

VI.

THE HOLY GHOST AND HIS OFFICE.

BY REV. H. H. W. HIBSHMAN, D. D.

IN a monograph we can only "at most touch the fringe" of so profound a doctrine; for who can search fully into the mystery of the adorable Trinity of which the Holy Ghost is the third Person? Or who can cull much in a life-time from all that which has been written by devout and learned students of Theology? No person. The more one dwells upon the great and sublime theme the more stately in magnitude the same becomes.

The fundamentals of the whole cycle of Truth are fixed, yet the light and knowledge concerning them in the spiritual Realm on earth are on the increase. There is continual progress and legitimate development relative to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost in the Church as there is in regard to any other. Healthy progress is always desirable and calculated to deepen the faith of the called in Christ Jesus. We fear, however, that in our electrical period of the world's history the attention of the people is not held to the doctrine of the Holy Ghost as it should be for their growth in grace, for confirmation in faith, and for encouragement in the Way that is narrow.

God is a Spirit; Infinite Essence, concerning which finite mind cannot expect to discover much that is trustworthy by ratiocination. The term essence is in great measure incomprehensible when we apply it to Deity, yet it is ample to give us some conception of the Divine Being. God is an Eternal Spirit, unique in His Being and perfect in His attributes.

There is only one true and living God; but we speak cor-

rectly according to the Light of the world when we say, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, Three in One and One in Three, Source of life, Fountain of every good given for the enjoyment of all animate creatures, the cause of motion and of impulse, "the Power determining change and antecedent to all things that suffer change." Oh what serenity and satisfaction comes to the mind resting in contemplation on this Being, beneficent Governor, preserving order in the universe fashioned by His creative energy, and "regulating the issues of all human agencies" in our sin-disturbed world!

Human reason cannot find out this God, neither can correct ideas be attained by the power of the most vivid imagination. The world by wisdom cannot know God. Much as we must value and appreciate metaphysical arguments and simpler demonstrations of the existence of God and His natural and moral attributes, we must not base our faith on such proof. He only knows correctly and most satisfactorily who studies Jesus Christ and fixes his soul-powers on His declarations. Our Instructor tells us that "three distinct Persons are the One only true and eternal God."

We have the manifestation of the ineffable Godhead by, in and through the Person of Jesus Christ. "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." Jo. 14: 9, "And, lo, a voice out of heaven said, This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." Matt. 4: 17. "It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Paraclete (Advocate or Helper) will not come unto you." Jo. 16: 7.

As we have the manifestation of God in the Person of Jesus Christ so by Him we have also the revelation of the secret counsel, will and pleasure of God concerning the salvation of His people. Great is the mystery. The infinite, unerring wisdom of the Father appears in every fact entering into the mediatorial scheme of redemption. By and by the veil of sin clouding the human understanding will be removed and then the Elect will behold and understand the plan in its entirety and glorious majesty when Christ comes in His power and glory

as Son of man accompanied by a retinue of angels. In that day sanctified knowledge will be perfected in the highest degree, God's ways will be openly acknowledged, and His honor vindicated.

"I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY GHOST" is an article of faith ever since the organization of the Church, in the best and highest form, on the day of Pentecost. No person is a Christian who does not, with the powers of mind, heart and soul, believe in the Holy Ghost. It is one of the impossibilities among men. There may be the assent of will concerning the historic Christ, His miraculous birth, His superiority over all other good men in the unfolding of life and character, His unequaled philanthropy, His golden precepts as grand and sublime, and His heroic death on the cross as the Man of perfection, but there cannot be assurance of being a son of God and heir of eternal life except by the aid and help of the Holy Spirit. No person can truthfully say before heaven and earth,

"Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness
My beauty is, my glorious dress,"

but through faith, the product of the Holy Ghost by the Gospel.

All efforts to prepare for the enjoyment of God and His glory in the heavenly world be they ever so faithful and strenuous without dependence upon Divine Power are futile; and the use of the Means of Grace are meaningless without faith in supernatural power at hand. To deny the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church is discrediting the most precious promise given by the Lord, and ranking Gospel history in the list of cunningly devised fables. "No man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit." I Cor. 12: 3.

We are not chargeable with being Tritheists because we assert the plurality of subsistences in the Godhead, and hold to the existence of three distinct persons, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. In doing so we speak agreeably to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. True, the Trinity is nowhere mentioned in the Bible

yet in sundry places the Word clearly states the fact that there is One God ; that the Father is God ; that the Son, Jesus Christ, is God ; and that the Holy Ghost is God. The creation of the world is a Trinitarian act. The plan of salvation is a Trinitarian work. The baptismal formula of the Catholic Church is Trinitarian ; and the doctrine of the Trinity is fundamental to the *Creed* of Christendom. We have said this much regarding the Trinity in order to bring out more clearly the truth concerning the Holy Ghost as a distinct Person, truly Divine Agent, active and intelligent and in every respect equal with the Father and the Son, and to show clearly that the Third Person of the Trinity termed Holy Ghost, has "infinitely holy spirituality of essence" in common with the First and Second Persons.

As to the name given to the Third Person, I can say nothing that will be as edifying as that upon which the sainted Bethune learnedly remarked : " Ghost and spirit are, in our English Scriptures, synonymous and interchangeable terms. Thus (Luke 23 : 46) we read, ' And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my *Spirit* ; and having said thus, he gave up the *ghost*.' "

The original for both words is the same (compare the Greek of Matt. 27 : 50, and of John 19 : 30). *Ghost* is a purely English word ; *Spirit* a Latin word Anglicized, and both translate a Hebrew word (רוּחַ ruah), which, when applied to living beings, is, throughout the Old Testament, translated spirit. Both the Hebrew and Greek terms are figurative, the Hebrew signifying primarily *wind*, and the Latin *breath*, and both are intended to express the immaterial or unsubstantial nature of the class of being which we call spirit. In those languages no nearer approach could be made to a designation of existence not bodily. The sound of the wind shows their origin, *ruah*, resembling that made by the wind ; *spi-ritus* that made by the breath. Our English word *ghost* seems to be radical and primary ; at least its etymology is now too obscure to be traceable. It is possible that it was adopted for the same reason of

sound, ghos-t, or *gheis-t*, though the conjecture is very doubtful, many English words having no relation to wind or breath, having the same sibilant sound. Certain it is that while the Hebrew word is *wind*, and the Latin *breath*, the English ghost is never used but to signify either the spirit of man (. . .) and the adorable Holy Spirit, or Holy Ghost. Spirit is also used in both testaments for an extraordinary faculty, as a spirit of prophecy, or a spirit of divination, and as Daniel is said to have had "an excellent spirit," and again for a prevailing temper or disposition, as a spirit of fear . . . ; and there are other uses of the term which need not be cited. No such use, however, is made of our word ghost, which has this advantage, that it not only translates the original, but gives the exact idea in the venerable name of the Holy Ghost . . . When the Scriptures speak of the infinitely glorious Third Person of the Trinity as the Holy Ghost or Spirit, it is expressive of His simple essence as a living, intelligent, active being, without body or material substance." When we speak of Him as the Holy Spirit we do not do so in order to show inferiority to the Father or the Son, but as being the same in essence and substance with both, co-equal and co-eternal. God is a Spirit can be denominated of Him with the same accuracy of thought and expression as of the other two Persons in the Deity. Neither do we give Him the adjunct Holy to distinguish Him from the created spirits, angels, hovering around the throne of God fulfilling their mission according to Divine intention in serving and praising God in perfection. As He had no beginning, so was He eternally, essentially and unchangeably holy. Absolutely so ; the Author of all holiness that characterizes any other holy spiritual entity, and in the economy of salvation He is the Sanctifier. In the kingdom of God amongst men in the earth, those who are ingrafted into Christ are being cleansed and perfected in will, heart, mind and soul by His operations. "We are sanctified in Christ Jesus." 1 Cor. 1: 2.

"Sanctified by God the Father, and by Jesus Christ His Son,
And by God the Holy Spirit, Holy, Holy, Three in One."

It is well also to observe that the designation of the Third Person of the Trinity is most properly Holy Ghost. The term is peculiar to Him in the economy of redemption to show the reciprocal relation He sustains to the Father and the Son. Hodge remarks that it is "to mark what is peculiar to His Person, *i.e.*, His personal relation to the Father and the Son, and the peculiar mode of His operation *ad extra*."

He is more than an emanating influence from the Father through the glorified human nature of the Son, to quicken, to sanctify, and to beautify the children of God. He is the Spirit as absolutely as the Father and the Son; and in no way to be regarded as merely breath, or life, or power going forth to energize and to influence other created beings to will and to do God's good pleasure. He is equal with the Father and the Son in the eternity of being, in essence and in subsistence, but distinct from them both in person. This is evident from various passages of Scripture. And it is of importance that the Church emphasizes this distinction.

False views of the Holy Spirit give incorrect ideas of the Church, of her ministry, and of her Sacraments. "Now when they had gone throughout Phrygia, and the region of Galatia, and were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia, after they were come to Mysia, they assayed to go into Bythinia, but the Spirit suffered them not." Acts 16: 6, 7. By epithet the Father is Creator, the Incarnate Son Redeemer and Revealer, and the Holy Ghost Operator and Sanctifier, yet the act of the one is always the act of the other two persons.

The Holy Ghost is therefore spoken of by the inspired penmen in the sacred books written after the ascension of the Lord Jesus as the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ and the Spirit of the Son of God. "Ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit of God, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." Rom. 8: 9. "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of truth, which proceedeth from the Father." John 15: 26. "If I go not

away, the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I depart I will send him unto you." John 16 : 7. "The Spirit of Jesus Christ." Phil. 1 : 19.

Credimus in Spiritus Sanctum ex Patre Filioque precedentum, according to the Council of Toledo, A. D. 589. Theologians intend by this phrase "to designate the relation which the third Person sustains to the first and second, wherein by an eternal and necessary, i. e., not voluntary, not of the Father and the Son, their whole identical divine essence, without limitation, division, or change is communicated to the Holy Ghost." Many passages of Scripture clearly and emphatically state that the Holy Ghost is a distinct personal Being ; eternal, underived, proceeding, not begotten.

Our conceptions of Him as such a Being cannot be too bright and lively, for by Him our faith in Jesus Christ as only Deliverer and Saviour becomes clearer, deeper and more rational. Only God the Holy Ghost can lift us out of ourselves into the Christ and through His mediation into communion of life with God. The LIGHT shines in the moral darkness of this world, but we see the glory of the Father in the same by One who abideth and dwelleth in us as God the Holy Ghost. There is no instance of time during which the Holy Spirit is not a distinct Person in the adorable Godhead.

A number of passages of Scripture also plainly predicate of Him the same attributes ascribed to God the Father and God the Son. He is a Being of will, of knowledge, of wisdom, of power, susceptible of grief, and liable to offence and resistance in His benign operations to bring men into proper relationship with offended Deity. He can be sinned against ; blasphemed ; spoken against ; lied unto ; tempted ; resisted ; and grieved ; all of which acts committed against Him prove beyond successful contradiction the distinct personality of the Holy Ghost. And the Arian heresy must ever be corrected that the Holy Spirit is "a mere influence of God." So also must the Sabellian view that Holy Ghost is only one of the names of God be detested as an insult to the teaching of the inspired word. So

well are these heresies understood by intelligent Christians that it is not necessary to speak of them in detail.

If we are convinced that the Holy Ghost is the third Person of the Trinity and distinct in His personality, then do we also believe in His divinity—that He is God.

The same glorious attributes are predicated of the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures by the inspired writers as are asserted as belonging to the Father and the Son. He is designated the Searcher, the Teacher sent from God, the Author of life, the Power by which miracles were wrought, the Mighty Worker, the everywhere present One, the Sanctifier, the eternal Spirit, “the Spirit of life,” “the Spirit of wisdom,” “the Spirit of power,” the quickening power in raising the dead, “the Spirit of glory.” He is called God; He is the Spirit of Christ; divine worship shall be rendered to Him; and “the same consummated acts of God” are ascribed to each of the three divine Persons. Apropos are the words of Dr. Dick: “To sum up the arguments which have been advanced in support of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost: if He is designated by names peculiar to God, if Divine perfections are ascribed to Him, if He has performed such works as manifestly surpass created power, and if religious worship is addressed to Him, we are warranted to affirm that He is not a created spirit, but God over all, blessed forever.” Allow me to state in a sentence in a negative way the three fundamental errors extant respecting the doctrine of the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost is not simply another name for the Father, neither a mere energy or influence, nor a mere creature; and to speak of Him as nothing but “the enthusiasm of the Society of Christians” is worse than any of the views advanced by Rationalists.

In speaking of His office, we mean that to Him is given or delegated the work to be accomplished in the Church and the world for the salvation of men by and through the life and death of Jesus Christ. The means through which it is ordained by the Holy One in Three He is to operate are the Gospel teaching and the Holy Sacraments. This is His ordinary

mode of operation. Nevertheless, as He is a Divine Agent, we would not for a moment hold that He is limited and circumscribed in His work by the regular channels of grace laid in the house of the Lord. "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." For all we know, the Church and men only are bound to the use of the ordained means for the accomplishment of salvation,—not the Holy Spirit. To Him all things are possible. Infinitely omnipotent as well as wise, He can do whatsoever He pleases. If He saw fit, He could create worlds. Be this as it may, He is the Divine, Personal Agent, God the Holy, present in and with the Church, the Body of the Lord Jesus Christ, for the salvation of men through faith in the Crucified One. To apply the blessed benefits of redemption, purchased at a great price by the Incarnate Son, is the official work of the Holy Ghost.

Permit me, however, to mention some of the extraordinary work He performed during the course of history. To Him is ascribed the special formative operation by which order, beauty and utility were brought out of the chaotic fluid form, called forth by the creative power of the Godhead. "The earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Gen. 1: 2. The immense expanse we call firmament was garnished by Him. "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the Spirit of His mouth." Ps. 33: 6. He was active in fixing the order and regulating the motion of the whole material universe.

For centuries He inspired and aided chosen men to utter words of prophecy against God's own people and the idolatrous nations around them. The prophetic gift came to men through the Spirit of God. "Prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." He was the inspiration of the Apostles and sacred writers who gave us Gospel history, history of the propagation of Christianity during the apostolic

period, exposition of Christian doctrine, and a prophetic exhibition of future things, in the books that constitute the New Testament. It was the work of the Holy Ghost to take of the substance of the Virgin Mary and prepare a body free from the taint and indwelling of sin for the Son of God. Divinity and humanity were brought together without mixture and confusion of natures in the Person of Jesus Christ by the Holy Ghost overshadowing the Virgin.

When the Lord Jesus was to enter publicly upon His Messianic career, He was ordained and anointed. As Son of man, without sin, "the Spirit of the Lord" came upon Him in visible manner, and the heavenly Father gave attestation by audible voice to His induction into the office of Prophet, Priest and King.

When the work of redemption was accomplished by an expiatory sacrifice on the accursed cross, and the depth of humiliation was reached by burial and descent into hades, by the Divine-human, it is said that His body was quickened again by the power of the Spirit. The Holy Ghost has resurrection potency. By Him the bodies of the just, who sleep in Jesus, will be raised glorious bodies, fitted and beautified for the indwelling of sanctified souls.

It is, however, the office of the Holy Ghost to apply the benefits of redemption as purchased by the Lord Jesus Christ. It matters very little whether you say, Purchased by the sacrifice Jesus made of His sinless body on the accursed wood—by sacrificial death—or secured by His life and death,—the benefits of redemption are made over to men and women who repent and believe by the operation of the Holy Spirit. After the Ascension of the glorified One from the green-tufted Mount of Olives, the application of His redemptive work would be given to the Holy Spirit. He would be absent corporeally, but present in the Person of the Holy Ghost, always with His people. Every member of the Church, ingrafted in Christ by a true and living faith, baptized in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, can truthfully say: "The Holy Ghost is given me to make me by a true faith partaker of Christ."

Participation in the saving benefits of Christ Jesus can only

be enjoyed by the aid and operation of the Holy Spirit. Back of saving faith, godly sorrow that worketh repentance, not to be repented of, substantial joy in believing, and the rich experience of living in a salvable state, or of being saved without one plea but that Jesus died for sin, is the work of the Holy Spirit. "I am what I am by the grace of God." "He first loved us." "Since, then, we are made partakers of Christ and His saving benefits by faith only, whence does this faith proceed? Ans. From the Holy Ghost, who works faith in our hearts by the preaching of the Gospel, confirms it by the use of the Sacraments."

Men are sinful and helpless in the extreme through the power of evil. Their state is abnormal. Paul depicts them most truthfully as dead in sins and trespasses. Nothing is more plainly taught in the Holy Scriptures than the sinfulness of the human family. It is the work of the Holy Ghost to convict sinners of sin and guilt, to beget in their souls the life divine, to bring about the new creation. In the order of time and thought, regeneration, the act performed in the soul from above, precedes faith, love, experience, obedience, conversion. The new life first,—then development of this divine life and the slaying or mortifying of the old man. By the Holy Ghost regeneration takes place in the soul, adoption into God's family is secured, and sanctification is being accomplished. "Ye are washed, ye are sanctified, ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." 1 Cor. 6:11.

The Holy Spirit abides and dwells permanently in the Church. He performs His mission in her and by her among men. The Word becomes the incorruptible seed under His influence. The sacraments are holy, visible signs and seals, and have confirmatory benefit for believers in Jesus Christ as Saviour, because of the reality and actuality of His presence and power. It is His ministration in the Church that gives efficacy to the preaching of the Gospel and to the Means of Grace for the development of the souls of believers in piety and godliness in the higher life. "He takes of the things of Christ, and shows them unto us." "He prepares the soil for

the seed, and the seed for the soil; but the sowing and the preparation of the soil, so far as we can see, go together. . . . It is enough for us to know that the Holy Ghost alone regenerates the sinner by uniting him to the life of Christ. . . . The ingrafting is the work of the Holy Ghost."

It is a wonderful gift God gave the Church through the glorified human nature of the Son in the Person of the Holy Ghost. He is the soul of the Body, that men may participate in all the benefits of salvation secured by the Incarnate One through suffering and death.

It is inexpressible joy to be made a temple of God by the indwelling of the Spirit. He dwells in the believer as the Spirit of Christ. "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God; and if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ."

"To Thee, O Comforter Divine,
For all Thy grace and power benign,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, whose faithful love had place
In God's great Covenant of Grace,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, whose faithful voice does win
The wandering from the ways of sin,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, whose faithful power doth heal,
Enlighten, sanctify and seal,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, whose faithful truth is shown
By every promise made our own,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, our Teacher and our Friend,
Our faithful Leader to the end,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, by Jesus Christ sent down,
Of all His gifts the sum and crown,
Sing we Alleluia!

"To Thee, who art with God the Son
And God the Father ever One,
Sing we Alleluia! Amen!"

VII.

GODLINESS.

BY REV. D. B. LADY, A. M.

THE word Godliness, placed at the head of this essay, is an expressive word. The fact is it seems more expressive, at first sight at least, than the word in the Greek Testament from which it is translated. The phrase "godly sorrow" (2 Cor. 7: 10) in the original is "sorrow according to or suited to God," *ἡ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη*. "Godly sincerity" (2 Cor. 1: 12) in the original is "sincerity of God," *εὐλικινεία θεοῦ*, as it is also rendered in the New Version. "Godly jealousy" (2 Cor. 11: 2) is "jealousy of God," *θεοῦ ζήλω*, in the original. Into these phrases the Greek word for God, *θεός*, enters as a constituent, and they are equally strong in the original and in the translation. In Hebrews 12: 28, however, for "with godly fear" we have in the Greek *μετὰ εὐλαβείας*, a phrase into which the Greek word for God does not enter. But in 1 Tim. 2: 10, the word *θεοσέβεια* occurs and this is rendered godliness in both the Old and the New Version of the New Testament, *θεοσέβεια* containing as will be perceived, the Greek word for God. In most other cases where we find the word Godliness in the English New Testament we find *εὐσέβεια* in the Greek; and the English is a stronger word than that for which it stands in the original, for into this Greek word the word for God in that language does not enter.

The word *εὐσέβεια* is compounded of *εὖ* and *σέβας*. *Σέβας* is the Greek word for shame, awe, fear, reverence, esteem, honor, worship. The word *εὖ* means well, appropriate, good. *Εὐσέβεια* is a good shame, an appropriate and becoming and

well-considered fear; reverence, esteem, honor, and worship, such as one ought to entertain. *Eὖ* enters into a number of words which are in common use in our language. *Λόγος* is a speech; Eulogy is a speech or writing in commendation of some one. Eupepsy is good digestion in opposition to dyspepsy, bad digestion. Euphony is an agreeable sound, an easy, smooth enunciation of sounds. A word of euphony is a word inserted in a sentence mainly for the sake of the sound. In all these the idea of good or well is embodied. This holds true wherever the word *εὖ* enters into the formation of another word. It carries with it the idea of excellence, desirableness, appropriateness. *Εὐσέβεια* is an excellent, an appropriate, a desirable, a becoming shame, awe, fear, reverence, worship; and hence such a state of heart and mind as is becoming on the part of man towards God; and hence, in the second place, piety, religion, obedience, devotion, godliness.

The sense of shame is inherent in the nature of man. Awe and fear and reverence and honor and worship and piety and religion and obedience and love, or, to embody the whole thought in one word, godliness, are also indigenous to the human heart. Shame and awe are closely related. In both there is a sense of our own inferiority in contrast with that which is better and greater than we are. When one has committed an act which the public sentiment condemns, when he comes to himself afterwards, he experiences this sense of shame or mortification before his conscience, his own better self, or, if detected in the act, before others. His own littleness, in contrast with his knowledge of what he ought to be, or in contrast with others who are above the commission of such acts, is apparent to himself and is impressed upon his consciousness. He feels disgraced before himself and before others. He is prompted to hide himself from his own presence and from that of his fellow-men. Men often seek the unconsciousness brought about by strong drink to escape, at least for a time, the mortification which follows wrong-doing.

The sense of awe comes to one when in the presence of some-

thing great and grand in nature. A roaring cataract, a lofty mountain, the apparently illimitable prairie, the boundless ocean, a thunder-storm, the starry heavens, a battle-field where mighty armies contend for the mastery, all fill us with a sense of our own inferiority. In contact with such displays of greatness and power a sense of the infinitude outside of ourselves comes to us. We have a conception of our own insignificance. We wonder at and admire the strength and nobility of that which confronts us. We take pleasure at last in its contemplation because, along with the impression of our own inferiority which it conveys to us, we feel akin to the grandeur and sublimity before us. It is we who perceive it. In the act of perception it becomes part of our experience, enters into our life, and we are lifted up by it into its own sphere.

A similar feeling fills the heart when one comes in contact with what is great in human beings. Here we call it esteem, honor, fear, reverence. The child has an instinctive awe and fear of the parent. To him the parent is great. The age, experience, wisdom, power and authority of the parent fill the child with the feeling of fear and reverence. The child is impressed with a sense of his own almost infinite inferiority, and thus depressed in the first instance; but he also intuitively recognizes his own interest in the parents, in the second instance; they are his parents; he is their offspring, and he has it in him to become like them; he takes pleasure in their superiority, and is himself elevated thereby. Men have this feeling in the presence of pure and noble women. Men and women experience the same thing when they meet, in life or on the pages of history, with those who have worthily occupied high positions, who have been possessed of high character, or have been of great service to mankind. We shrink, are awed in their presence. Our hearts go out in reverence and honor towards them. We are lifted up by our association with them. We are proud of their characters, their great talents, and their wonderful achievements. We feel that we are members of the same human race or of the same nation which they have made illustrious by their lives.

Father. His character and attributes, His personality and life are brought nigh to us, and we come into contact with Him as we study the biography of our Saviour and acquire a knowledge of Him. In divine worship we meet God. At the Lord's Table He sups with us and we with Him. In this Holy Communion He cleanses us from our sins, enlightens us by His Spirit, strengthens us by His grace, and nourishes our souls unto eternal life with the body and blood of His Son who became a sacrifice for the sin and for the salvation of the world. When God's people meet to engage in His service, "the Lord is among them, as in Sinai, in the sanctuary" (Ps. 68: 17). "The Lord is in his holy temple" (Ps. 11: 4). Of every house of God it can be said as Jacob said of the scene of his dream: "Surely the Lord is in this place:" "How dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." God also comes to us in the still small voice of the Spirit, and in His providential dealings with us. "The steps of a good man are ordered by the Lord" (Ps. 37: 23). And God's presence, felt, recognized, apprehended, calls out in the human heart *εὐσέβεια*, a proper and becoming feeling of shame and awe and esteem and honor; that which in other words we call piety, religion, godliness.

Shame and awe and fear and reverence and worship and piety and religion and godliness are essentially the same. They are steps in the genesis of the same divine endowment. They are developed and grow out of one another, as the heart is brought into contact with righteousness and grandeur and truth and God. The process may be said to begin with shame and end in godliness, *εὐσέβεια*, in its full development. Being but branches of the same trunk and growing out of the same root they sustain the most intimate relations to each other, as is apparent from a passage in the book of Ezra: "Then were assembled unto me every one that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the trespass of them of the captivity; and I sat astonished until the evening oblation. And at the evening oblation I arose up from my fasting, even with my gar-

ment and my mantle rent; and I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto the Lord my God; and I said, O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our guiltiness is grown up to the heavens" (Ezra 9: 4-6). Shame arises from a sense of sinfulness. When sin, through pardon and the cleansing power of Christ's blood and Spirit, is eliminated from our life, the fear of God is still the beginning of wisdom. As we see God in the reflections of His greatness in nature, and then in truth and then in His blessed Son, "who is the effulgence of his glory and the impress of his substance," as we come into full communion with Him in the Sacred Supper, and know of His teaching by the doing of His will, we will reach the highest experience of religion, that feeling towards God which produces perfect obedience to His will and entire devotion to His service.

The question might be raised as to the value of *ἐνσέβεια* in human experience and as an element or factor of human life. Would it not be better if shame, and the successive gradations of it up to godliness itself, were absent from our nature? Some might be disposed to answer in the affirmative. Shame is a bitter feeling. It is not pleasant to have a sense of mortification when detected in wrong-doing. To stand reverentially before purity in womanhood and disinterestedness and superior endowments in a fellow-man might be thought belittling to ourselves. To feel and express honor and respect for men in high position, or for those who have been of great service to mankind is sometimes denominated toadyism and is looked upon as degrading. Especially might the fear of God be regarded as placing one under unnecessary restraint, and godliness as compelling one to an obedience and service which are very inconvenient, and come next to slavery itself.

But a little reflection will show the importance and value of this element. What respect could one have for a boy who could not hang his head when detected in an act of meanness, or for a woman from whom had gone the power to blush when

found guilty of unbecoming conduct. There are those, doubtless, who are lost to shame, who can not only do wrong, but who feel no degradation in bad conduct; who are not mortified when found guilty of the most outrageous acts. But who would be such an one? Who would have wife or child of that character? To be able to do wrong secretly is bad enough, but to be able to do it in the open light of day, unblushingly, without compunction, with no sense of degradation, able to look all men boldly in the face, is ten thousand times worse. For him who can be ashamed there is hope of redemption from sin. His sense of shame is a foundation for reformation and correctness of conduct. But for him who cannot be brought to a sense of shame there is no hope. He is not only degraded, but he is satisfied with his degradation. He is shameless, and he glories in his shame. Whilst a sense of shame involves humiliation and bitterness, yet it is the only true passage into a manner of life of which there will be no reason to be ashamed.

A proper respect and reverence for what is excellent and admirable and grand and noble in our fellow-men is to be commended. There is no toadyism in honoring those who are worthy. To feel a respect for the character and deeds of those who are truly great argues the existence of a degree of greatness in him who entertains this feeling. The absence of this sentiment is the loss of something valuable out of our lives. Some have no sense of the beautiful or the sublime in nature. To them a mountain is a mass of earth and rocks; the prairie, some hundreds of thousands of acres of level land; the ocean, a vast expanse of water. At Niagara

“The tailor made one single note,
Gods! What a place to sponge a coat!”

But who would envy such persons? Their life is a poor and meagre one. They lose a rich experience which they might have had if their æsthetic sense had been cultivated. They are in a worse condition than those who are color-blind, or who cannot distinguish the sweetest strains of music from ordinary

sounds. Those who have no admiration for greatness, no reverence for purity and exalted goodness in human life, who feel no honor or respect for those who have rendered great services to the country or made distinguished sacrifices for mankind are in a still worse condition.

There are those also who seem to be conscious of no relation to the Divine Being. They live, as far as any thought or feeling of theirs on the subject is concerned, without God in the world. They lose the rich experience which a consciousness of God brings to the human heart. No sense of having sinned against heaven and in His sight is felt by them even at the commission of the grossest immoralities. No blush for having done, under His all-seeing eye what is shameful, mantles their cheeks. No awe overwhelms their souls in the presence of the extraordinary displays of divine power. No admiration and love steals into their hearts in contemplating the love of God manifested in the gift of His Son to become the Savior of the world. They are not constrained by the infinite sacrifice of Christ to give themselves in body soul and spirit to His service. No gratitude for deliverance from the power of evil prompts them to lives of obedience and devotion to God and their fellow-men. Such lives are infinitely barren. Originally endowed with the possibility of attaining to the sublime heights of righteousness and unselfishness and consecration, they have come to revolve in the low plane of sense and self. They entertain no lofty aspirations. They reach no worthy attainments. There is for them no exaltation of soul and character. They miss what is best and grandest in life. They are of the earth, and never rise above it.

It may be taken for granted that it was the design of God that every individual of the human family should seek and attain to growth and enlargement. The most ample provision is found in man's nature and environment for such expansion. There is food for the body and abundant opportunity for exercise. There is nourishment for the mind and the most frequent and urgent calls come to him for the use of his intellec-

tual faculties, and their growth is secured by such nourishment and use. Our social nature is ministered to. The solitary have been set in families and in communities, and a varied relationship and complicated intercourse have come to exist among men and women. Love of country is called into existence and strengthened by public needs and national vicissitudes. Will any one question that this manifold environment evolves in man's life, and ministers to the growth of what is essential to his character, and makes him truly human, and advances him continually towards greatness and a glorious fruitage. Without growth in all these and other directions man would remain a pigmy. He would be dwarfed and idiotic and isolated and unfruitful. Man is humanized by his surroundings when these are properly employed.

But this is not all that enters into and makes up a fully rounded life. *Εὐσέβεια* is a necessary part of complete and perfected humanity. Where shame for wrong-doing is absent something essential is wanting. An active and vigorous conscience which brings a blush to the cheek of the sinner for his sin belongs to human nature. Reverence for parents, awe in the presence of the sublime and awful in nature and in human life, admiration for the great and good, for what is unselfish and noble in the history of men and nations, and, last and best of all, the crowning quality of life, but of a piece with what precedes, the consciousness and fear of God, respect and reverence for the Divine Being, piety, religion, that feeling or sentiment or principle in the soul which prompts to hatred towards, and avoidance of: sin, and obedience to God's laws, worship of God, and devotion to His service belong to and are an essential part of human nature in the fulness of its growth. Without these the individual is incomplete. He has not apprehended the whole of what is offered him in the world. He has fallen short of the highest to which he might have attained. He has missed the most valuable thing of all out of his experience. His life has not come to full bloom and perfect fruitage.

Human life is happy and rich to the extent to which it is en-

larged and its powers are strengthened and its capacities filled with the contents to which they are adapted. Childhood and youth are enjoyed because they cover the period of growth of a certain kind. The world and all experience are fresh and new to the growing boy. It is a delightful experience to have his powers expand and his body, soul and spirit receive into themselves that which is suited to them and by which they live and thrive and increase. Many men in after years, when they have ceased to grow, when life has become "flat, stale and unprofitable" to them, when their days and years are barren and unfruitful, look back with regret and longing to the days of their childhood, rich in growth and enjoyment. But why should men cease to grow? Physical growth, it is true, has its limits. But is this true of intellectual growth also, or of growth in *εὐσέβεια*? By no means. There is no limit to the acquirement of knowledge. A thousand unconquered worlds lie beyond the "utmost purple rim" of present intellectual attainment. Nor has any one yet reached the limit of expansion and acquirement in the development of the sense of greatness and goodness outside himself, and the possession of the contents of that best part of our nature which maketh for righteousness and lays hold of divine truth and apprehends God. Only the eternal life to come will suffice for that. If awe and reverence and piety and religion are cultivated, we can go on adding to our life indefinitely, "increasing with the increase of God." "For bodily exercise is profitable for a little; but godliness (*εὐσέβεια*) is profitable for all things, having promise of the life which now is, and of that which is to come" (1 Tim. 4:8). "But godliness (*εὐσέβεια*) with contentment is great gain" (1 Tim. 6:6).

As much of the delightfulness and joy of youth come from expanding powers and accumulating acquirements, and as there is probably no limit to spiritual growth, it is reasonable to believe that the rapture coming from our progress in godliness will never come to an end. It will be admitted, moreover, that the greatest pleasure and happiness is not attained through physical growth, but through intellectual, social, æsthetic and

moral expansion and attainment. There is an ascending scale here. It is also reasonable to believe, therefore, that in the growth in godliness which is to go on forever, the happiness coming to us by means of it will be of a character superior to that enjoyed by means of any other growth. We know this already indeed by our experience of the Christian life, which is doubtless but an earnest of the experience of the life to come.

Εὐσέβεια is a quality which can be cultivated. And the means of its cultivation have been provided. The undeveloped power is in the human heart. It is a part of man's nature. And it grows by what it feeds on and in the degree in which it is exercised. The law of growth is one and the same for every endowment of the individual. The infant heart is very susceptible. It will soon learn to feel its degradation when involved in guilt. It will readily come to hate evil. There is such a thing as original goodness as well as original depravity, and both are capable of development. Heredity has much to do with the advantages or disadvantages with which every human life begins the world; and God created man good; with that advantage the race began life.

Outside of the individual is the awe-inspiring. The presence of the parent and the teacher calls out respect and reverence. The wonderful displays of power in nature continue the evolution. The solitude of the pathless forest, the vast expanse of plain and ocean, the loftiness of the mountain, the beauty of the sunshine, the terror of the storm, minister to the expanding sense of wonder and fear and admiration and awe. God's revelation of Himself in the truths of His word and in the person of His Son, the solemn services of the sanctuary, the sacraments of the Church, the unseen but not unfelt presence of the Holy Spirit carry on the growth to piety and religion and godliness in its full sense, "perfecting holiness in the fear of God" until the individual has his "fruit unto holiness and the end everlasting life" (Rom. 6:22).

VIII.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN THE COLLEGIATE CURRICULUM.

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No STUDY to-day, in civilized and enlightened nations, rises to such importance, or claims such general attention, as the study of the national language. The world, indeed, is awakening to the fact that a nation's growth, or progress, is from within, and that the central study of all studies is the one in which is laid up whatever there may be of value in the life-work of the people.

The reason prompting to such thinking is the intimate relation existing between the national language and national activity. All actions of body and mind, of which a people is capable, find place and utterance in the national language. Its existence is not limited by days or years. Generations enrich it. Centuries enlarge it.

In it are cut and chiseled to the exact fitting of every really national thought and sentiment those untranslatable expressions called idioms. These, in workmanship, are finer than anything wrought in wood or metal. In them are seen, in their true dispositions, the men and women and children of the nation in every walk of life.

Expressed in the national language, raising, cleansing and moulding the nation into separate, national existence, are the people's beliefs, forming into a national philosophy. Forming, we say, for at this point no nation, by its nature, does or can stand still. In this it is itself living, growing, advancing, more and more realizing, ever and ever fulfilling, its destiny.

These ideas are not new, but old—as old, indeed, as nations or peoples. The authors, whose immortal works point out the intellectual pathway of mankind, have always found the national language a proper study, and a fit depository of their literary labors. We can trace this upon the printed page, whether ancient or modern. We can there see how completely these portrayers of life and interpreters of nature were constrained, by a study of the living and the real of their day, to form their ideals, and to express them within the reach, because within the language, of the people. In support of this let examples testify.

The Old Testament shows in its varied style nothing of the school or cloister, but is fragrant of garden and orchard, and abounds in pictures drawn from hill and vale, brook and river, and the nooks and pleasant by-ways of human life.

The classical student knows full well how Homer clings to his native dialect, its primitive use of adjectives and rhetorical figures; and to those processes of composition which are of all kinds the easiest, simple narration and simple description. The closest inspection of the Iliad will reveal nothing that could not have been familiar to the Greeks of Homer's day.

Dante, the great Italian poet, turned from the classic Latin to the language of his people, in which no important work had up to his time appeared, and crystallized into its lovely sounding words and phrases his wonderful poem, the Divine Comedy.

Chaucer, in the 14th century, when the English language had just become national, translated into it many excellent poems from the French, and used it to transmit to posterity his own studies of nature, and his immortal Canterbury Tales.

The German Goethe, who was not distinguished as a linguist, made his studies the best German authors who preceded him, so that in and by the skillful use of his native German alone he became, as Emerson puts it, the writer.

Shakespeare, who studied the drama and the English, is held in remembrance, “not for any new truths announced, not for facts of history or science expressed, but for the superior, inim-

itable workmanship of his poems" wrought in the English language.

George Bancroft, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Harriet Beecher Stowe studied scenes and phases of our national life, and gave them such settings in words as to cause us to seek their writings, in order that we may know ourselves better, and gain a more national expression for our thoughts. So, too, are we moved by the orations of Webster and Everett, the law-commentaries of Chancellor Kent, the poems of Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, and those best expressions telling of country, home and heart, continually issuing from the national senate, the forum and the pulpit.

If such, indeed, has been the judgment of the wise and great of mankind, why this delay in making the national language a principal study in the collegiate curriculum? We answer that from the time of instituting liberal education in this country two methods of mental training have existed, the scholastic and that which, from a small beginning, has become the national. The scholastic method came to us with the college, complete in itself, unyielding and conservative. The national method has grown up among us. It contains all the elements of a perfect system of education; but it is yielding and progressive. The former has had rule in the colleges for centuries; the latter is just finding entrance. It is the scholastic method that has thrown up barriers against the national language, first by the form of its curriculum inherited from the European university, and secondly by the direction of mind given its graduate. To this end let history speak.

When the university had its origin in Europe the notion was prevalent that those who attended and received instruction from its teachers should be a separate community. The existence of this notion forces a thinking mind to the conclusion that to mark the separation outwardly the student wore the cap and gown, and to mark it inwardly the national language was excluded from the curriculum.

At first the attendance upon the universities numbered thou-

sands. After a time these immense crowds were scattered. Then arose the schools of preparation. These schools, however, were governed by what the students needed most to take a degree in the liberal arts.

The universities conferred these degrees. They also declared what was requisite to take them. So exclusive and fixed were the universities in their requirements that to change them the opinions of such men as Luther, Calvin and their coadjutors had no power. Naturally, rhetoric, logic, metaphysics, ethics, and, later on, history, were taught; but their central studies were Latin, Greek and mathematics.

Scholastic learning in America descended in full from scholastic learning in Europe. As a consequence, the establishing of colleges in the United States was nothing more or less than the establishing among us of the principal course, or curriculum, of the universities. That was then the only known form of tuition in the liberal arts. It brought to the front and firmly set, in its cold and narrow form, the old routine of Latin, Greek and mathematics.

This form, or routine, by means of the extraordinary amount of time and drill given to its few studies, has made the colleges in their nature conservative. The study of the Latin and the Greek, so continuously pursued, and for so many years, causes the student to look down upon the page, and back into the past, until he loses hold of the present. In time he forms for himself a new world, in which his nation has no part. In such a secluded and isolated life, his mathematics makes him formal; his logic, contentious about words; his philosophy, speculative. Progress with him is advancement from a given point in a study to a given point in the same study.

All this develops into a method, and stamps itself upon the student's character. And, as a matter of fact, the most thorough, because the most impressible, student becomes a teacher, a professor, to take the place of a professor whose labors have ceased. The new man comes to his work full of vigor, somewhat laden with his subject, and intending to do

good. Of course, he knows nothing of the art of teaching, for that is the result of experience. To supply the lack of experience he takes to that which he finds in himself, with which he is imbued, a something at hand and ready made. It is exactly what he saw and learned at college. And what he there saw and learned he continues a month, a year, and the curriculum of the college, with its method, is fully transmitted in the work of the graduate.

In this scrap of history, we at once come upon the cause of the delay in making the national language a study in the collegiate curriculum. We do not find it to be the reason usually given, to wit: that these studies, Latin, Greek and mathematics, best serve the purpose of mental discipline. It is, however, a method which by custom has become a tyranny. And is there no escape from it? Does the present indicate no change? Let us see.

There are connected with most American colleges directors and professors who are shrewd and ambitious men. They know that real progress—physical, intellectual, moral—lies in the present, and is of the people. Within the last fifteen years they have worked to find a place in the collegiate curriculum for the national language. But how have some of these done it? Hear, if you please. A college, with over a thousand students and a great national reputation, demands what is equal to a full preparation in English for entrance to the Freshman class. On its examination papers, of several years ago, is indicated the requirement of an essay on one of Shakespeare's plays, or Thackeray's English Humorists, or Gray's Elegy, or Scott's Marmion. Another college, at a certain stage in its course, tumbles, at one time, upon a class, a whole English classic, and follows, in the same term, with several others in quick succession.

This is crowding the actual study of the national language back into the schools, in which the time for preparation is too short, the mind at work not sufficiently trained, and the studies wanting, for a full and proper understanding of its literature.

It is saying, the colleges acknowledge the importance of the study of the national language, but the student must do his studying of it elsewhere, and the colleges will test him as to whether or not he has done it well.

The attitude is wrong. Already a few of the higher institutions of learning show a better spirit. In them rhetoric, in all its parts, is given ample time ; the processes of composition are studied ; exercises are had in articulation and enunciation ; and " importance is attached to the vocal interpretation of literature."

Indeed, the study of the national language can not be crowded back into the preparing schools. This may do for a nation differently constituted from our own. We are a democracy. Our government is delegated to us from God. He has also indicated our nation's destiny,—the greatest of all,—the uplifting of humanity. To meet the requirements thus imposed, we need a thorough and extended training in our national language. In it is found the true meaning of our government, and the full interpretation of our destiny. No other people has had a like spirit; no other language contains similar thought, or has a similar construction. Before the Revolution many of the colonists saw the need of a peculiar mental training for the people. Since then, and particularly within the present century, such mighty strides have been made in popular education as to cause us to reach what may be properly termed the national method of mental training. It began in schools here and there. They were called public, because free to every one. These public schools have increased in number until they cover the land. Their power is great. This power arises by reason of a curriculum, common to all, and of which curriculum the central study is the national language. In these, at the age of six, the pupil begins work. At the age of thirteen he quits his speller, and at sixteen he completes his grammar. Along with this he has finished reading, the arithmetics, the geographies, penmanship, industrial drawing, algebra, plane geometry and United States history. In a town of considera-

ble size, the high school adds rhetoric, something of science, of Latin, and, it may be, of Greek.

To do the work of the high-school, in many cases, adds years as well as labor, and sends the boy toward the age of twenty-one, with an abnormal eagerness for business; and generally, he goes from the school, not to college, but into the world.

But should the graduate of the high-school determine to enter college, and should his preparation in Latin, Greek and mathematics admit him, he yet lacks in the preparation required to analyze, or comprehend in full, a classic in the national language. To accomplish this, time is not the only element. Mental training of a peculiar kind is needed. It arises from the pursuit of studies already in the collegiate curriculum. And these studies are at every turn, in every class, from Freshman rhetoric to Senior ethics.

As we stand on the threshold of the college with our argument in hand, we shall not question the status of the college in the nation. The American college is not self-originated and autocratic, but it partakes of the national life, is democratic; and like the public school is a school of preparation.

If, in the last hundred years, one thing in the line of education has been more clearly demonstrated than another, it is that the functions of the college and of the university are separate and distinct; that of the college being preparation, those of the university being investigation and special work. In the ideal college the work is many sided, being many studies nicely adjusted, as to quantity, for lessons; as to time, for recitations; and so selected and developed as to result in the general training of a person in body, mind and heart. In the ideal university the work is in single directions, each heavily laden with quantity and references, with research and experiments, so as to result in the training of an individual for a particular calling.

As to situation, these institutions have different requirements. The best location for the college is near a village or town, amidst shrubbery and trees, with acres of lawn, and beautiful walks, water courses, contiguous orchards, adjoining fields, ad-

jacent woods, and all the lovely scenery which only living nature can yield. The best seat for the university is in the city, which is filled with human skill, where men of every capacity jostle elbows, where art is above nature, practice takes the place of training, and realization is, or is not, instant upon the doing.

By these explanations and descriptions we at once see the relation of the college and its accompanying academic school to the public school in its best condition; or of the college itself to the high-school, in which public instruction ends. The college, however, can hardly be called the complement of the public school, but the work of the two can be so fitted together, upon the common basis which the national language affords, as to give a continuous and thereby economic line of necessary instruction, leading from the first step in acquiring knowledge to a finished and completed personal training.

Thus far we have been looking at our subject in the light of its importance, and in its relations to the collegiate curriculum. We shall now briefly consider it as a study; what it is as a study, and its effect as a study upon the student.

The national language is always a complete linguistic study in itself. It is a tongue, speech, and language. In these three particulars it stands in sharp contrast with the Latin and the Greek. The last two are often called the dead languages, because neither is a tongue or speech. The national language is called a living language, because it lives upon the tongue, dwells on the ear, and is quickened with thought and feeling in action.

As a study in the collegiate curriculum it will add greatly to that breadth of learning which every one needs. It begins with the voice. This, however, includes the training of the body. To have a good voice means to have a sound body. To have a sound body requires a thorough knowledge of human anatomy, physiology and hygiene. Only in this knowledge can arise that perfection of manner which is exhibited in sitting, standing, moving, resulting in the graceful action of the

reader and the orator. Through it we learn to breathe properly, and to keep ready for use the organs of speech, that we may utter the elementary sounds of the language with exactness, and pure tone with beauty.

It puts the student on his mettle as to his every-day speech. On all sides he is met by a correct pronunciation and a choice use of words. The idiom of language is no longer a dry and ornamental form found in books, but is a living, real force. By search and immediate use, the contents of grammars, dictionaries and rhetorics are turned into present currency. He is compelled, by a self-criticism, to avoid archaic, ill-formed, or foreign words. He speaks concisely. His sentences, in construction, are national. His rhetorical figures have in them the temper and touch of the passing hour.

Its literature "embodies that which is most artistic and complete" in the nation's "intellectual, literary life." This high conception at once compels the student to discriminate between the "practical products of composition, and those works which possess such merit of execution in conjunction with matter as to give them permanent value." He is taught that "thought alone, the substance of wisdom merely, cannot save a work of literature." He learns by a study of its three values—the intellectual, expressional and emotional—that rhetoric and logic are not alone the essentials, but that æsthetics and ethics have a part in the arranging, forming, coloring, of the literary product.

In the training of his powers he runs through all the processes of composition and forms of discussion, reaching and producing, with ease and pleasure, the oration; and, ending in a not mean ability to criticise the ablest works of the literary art.

Now, as it appears, the national language, from its close relation to national activity, and its value as a study, should have not only an important but a central position in the collegiate curriculum. And the only question which remains is, whether this central position should be given it by the displacement of

studies, or by the grouping of studies. To displace any study would be violent. Let time do that work, and it will be done without pain or regret. We believe that a grouping of all the studies in the collegiate curriculum, with the national language as the central study in each group, would prove the most profitable and satisfactory.

Of these groups there should be four, each leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts: (1) One for the student who intends to read Theology; (2) One for the student who intends to read Law; (3) One for the student who intends to read Medicine; (4) One for the student who intends to become a man of business, or a person of leisure. But what studies, beside the national language, shall constitute each group can not be determined by one man or one college. These are dependent on the spirit of the age, and that spirit must determine what they shall be.

With the position of the national language in the collegiate curriculum ventilated, its importance set forth, the scheme for its introduction given, our task is done. And we add that we believe as we have written, and hail the not distant day, when liberal education shall be as free as water, and every American shall know perfectly his native tongue and speech and literature.

IX.

SIMON BAR-JONA: THE STONE AND THE ROCK.

BY MRS. T. C. PORTER.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

A FOUNDATION STONE.

“And upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.” St. Matt. xvi. 18.

SECTION VII.

“I will Build my Church.”

“I will” looks to the future. Though He spake with that eternal self-consciousness to which Peter had appealed, it was also as the Messiah bound and limited by His mortality. He was still under the old dispensation, and submissively doing the will of the Father. He was yet a son in his minority. As a general and public gift, His twofold life was not to be offered to men till after He had laid it down for them as a brother, and taken it up for them as a father, and thus had made Himself their saviour and redeemer. Not till so marked by all the acts of His passion, would it avail to conquer sin, and eventually burst “the gates of hell;” for this eternal life in Christ and His people was to qualify them for more than resistance to the powers of evil. In the strength of it, they were to attack and destroy them.

The words, “I will,” also signify determination. They were a promise to Peter, individually and representatively, that this eternal life should never cease to be imparted to him, and to all true believers. Its first result was to be the complete salvation of every faithful member of Christ’s church. “I give,” or am always giving “unto them eternal life;” “and they shall

never perish, neither shall any man pluck them out of my hand." It was also a promise of the glorification, at His second coming, of the whole church or all believers, who, collectively, are described by St. John as "the Lamb's wife," and compared to "a bride adorned for her husband."

"I will" also expresses triumph. The Jewish was a bloody church. Its sacrifices, typical of the Messiah to come, were not abolished till after His death. Then it, too, died and was buried. But, unlike Him, it never rose again. It had taught the immortality of the soul, but it could not insist, as a *cardinal doctrine*, on "*the resurrection of the body.*" This, the Messiah was the first to proclaim; and then He confirmed it by His own return to earth, from the grave! Much less therefore could the Jewish teach (as cardinal doctrines) the ascension, *in the body*, of all believers; and further—the ascension of some of them without being taken out of the body! These acts are the first distinguishing and grand results (typified in the cases of Enoch and Elijah) of that eternal human life of Christ's upon which His church invisible is built; and His glorification, and that of all His people when the time comes for it, will be its succeeding great results. Indestructibility, not alone of the soul, but of the body also, is "the life and immortality" which Christ brought "to light through the gospel." The body is as necessary to the perfect man as the soul. Even the righteous dead in being without bodies are not called in the Scriptures, men, nor angels, but "spirits," and they must wait to receive with the church universal, that which St. Paul calls "the redemption of our body."

As far as Peter was sensible, at the time of his confession, of the full import of his words, they were no more than a feeble wail. Yet never was mother so glad to hear the voice of her first-born babe, as was Christ to hear that cry; for in it was the ring of eternal life. To His prophetic view, multitude after multitude rose with the same cry—"the Son of the living (and life-giving) God"—and beholding and hearing, He triumphantly exclaimed: "And upon this rock I will build *My*

church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against *It*." Thus He contrasted the Jewish church with the Christian, and exalted the latter.

SECTION VIII.

"The gates of Hell shall not prevail against It."

Those vast powers of sin and Satan—death and the grave, or "the gates of Hell" (Hades)—did prevail against His "Father's House." But they shall not (and this was the comfort of the Messiah when He had to go down under them) prevail against His own. His second coming will not be as a Saviour to suffer, but as a Judge to acquit His people of all the consequences of sin. Then, He will make manifest that perfection of their bodies which is now prefigured by His own glorious body. The whole outcome and finish of the bloody sacrifices of the Jewish dispensation, were the death and burial of its Messiah. But the final result of the Christian dispensation, will be the manifestation of Christ and His people as a new father and new family of mankind. Then, millions upon the earth shall not taste death, but "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye," be "changed:" "for this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." To this—transformation without dying—the Messiah was also looking, when, at Peter's confession of His indestructible life, which "could not be holden of death," He exclaimed—"And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Not merely the graves of the righteous emptied of their dead, but death abolished for those "which are alive and remain unto His coming," was the entrancing prospect that enabled Him to endure the cross and despise its shame.

Had the first parents of our race resisted the devil's suggestion to disobey God, had they refused to eat of "the tree of knowledge of good and evil," their Creator would have given them permission, when their probation was ended, to partake of this "Tree of Life"—the life of the Son of God, unladen down, or unbroken. By this they would have become im-

mortal, and eventually been translated. But they transgressed, and fell, and by their fall created a necessity for the epoch marked by the sacrifice of innocent brutes. Hence this epoch—the Jewish dispensation—was an interruption and digression in the history of mankind upon earth. But God, who brings good out of evil, made it an occasion for the gracious coming of Christ as a saviour to wash sinners in His blood, as well as a parent to nourish them with His life!

Christ's created life was further marked by becoming, through the working of His Divine life, like it, forever indivisible and unchangeable; for He rose, no more to die. These marks are its last and deepest features. But they will not be made apparent in the life of His people till the close of the Christian dispensation. His church is still Jewish, though its present phase is Messianic. In it, His body continues to be broken, and His blood shed. His truest Christian church, the invisible, is not yet born. It is only conceived, and struggling in the womb of the Messianic, as did this in the Jewish. It is coming to the birth, however, and in due time will be born; but not like the Jewish—by His dying; nor like the Messianic—by His rising and living again. It will be born by His "coming in the clouds of heaven," and taking it up into glory; where, when perfected, It, "the Body," will be worthy of Him, "the Head."

The *visible* church does now, and continually, "shew the Lord's death;" though it is only "till He come." But His coming again, as the Son of Man in the glory of the Father, is the promise and hope of the perfect birth of the church *invisible*. Jesus "shall see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied." Though Satan strove hard, *that* church (or family) was not, like the one in the garden of Eden, stifled in its conception. Nor will it be, like the Jewish, born dead; nor like the present, the Messianic, dismembered. It shall be caught up like its Parent into the kingdom of the Highest—perfect, not a bone broken, without spot or blemish;—incapable of again becoming mortal, of suffering and dying;—indivisible and un-

changeable. And then the pulsings of God's life in it, His life human, triune and eternal, will so glorify it, that its very appearance will not only show that "the gates of hell" have not prevailed against it, but proclaim that *it* has completely vanquished *them*.

SECTION IX.

Peter and John.

One more shadow must be lifted from St. Peter, and this labor of love is ended. *Finis coronat opus.*

At the close of that memorable meeting by the Sea of Tiberias, Jesus not only restored Peter to his priority, but further said to him, "Follow Me." "Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following" . . . "and saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do?" * meaning what should John also, like himself, do actively, and passively (by suffering) to "glorify God."

"Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me." †

In seeking to understand this 'puzzling passage,' which is a question and answer in one, it will be best, first of all, to assume that Peter's words: "Lord, and what shall this man do?" were not prompted by curiosity, as some seem to think, nor by flippancy. He was not irreverent, and was not speaking at random. These assumptions will clear much of the ground. And then by supposing that Simon's question and the Master's reply were prompted by the Spirit who searches the deep things of God, light enough will be thrown on the position of both, not only to clear Simon of charges similar to the above, but to show that he *was* to ask in what way John should glorify God, for the very purpose that Jesus might reveal it. And further, lest any envy of his friend, or regret for himself, should arise in Peter's heart at hearing their fates

* St. John xxi. 20-22.

† "Dr. Adam Clarke says that for nearly eighteen centuries the greatest men in the world have been puzzled with this passage."—*Jesus and the Coming Glory*, p. 530.

were to be so different, it is also allowable to suppose that Jesus forestalled it by asserting His sovereignty, with the words, "If *I* will," and Peter's subjection, with the words, "What is that to *thee*?" These remarks closed Simon's lips (if he was ready to demur) and settled forever the question of his destiny and John's, and the vast difference between them.

However, as Peter had asked more out of love for John than concern for himself, Jesus did answer him promptly, and plainly, and fairly. This will become evident if His words are transposed, and read thus—"I will that *he tarry till I come*."

What then did the Lord by those words, "tarry till I come," signify should be the mission and fate of John, and for inquiring into which Simon has been so unjustly censured?

First, and negatively, it was not, as some speculate, a coming of Christ to him in an easy and natural death, when the time for his departure arrived, nor was it a hint of exemption from suffering. Though all the other apostles were allowed to die by violence, some early and some late, Jesus was not saying that His beloved should be the only one to escape "tribulation." On the contrary, John did suffer in "the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ." Neither did their Master mean that John should tarry till His own "coming at the destruction of Jerusalem, to punish the unbelieving Jews and rescue the Christians." This mysterious coming of the Son of Man to him, with the day and the hour of it, which he knew not, was to exclude all other Christians. Besides, the Lord did not say, positively, whether John should die, or whether he should not die. He only said: "I will that he tarry till I come."

Again, some suppose that as "this saying went abroad among the brethren"—"That that disciple should not die"—they referred the fulfilment of Christ's words (that John should tarry till He came) to the general and final judgment of the world; for they expected it to occur early, even in the lifetime of some of them. This was a great mistake. Two

thousand years have passed since then; those brethren are gone; John is gone; the world still stands, and the Lord continues to delay His coming and the last great judgment.

Others think that John endeavored to rectify the inference of the brethren that he "should not die," by denying it, in his words: "Yet Jesus said unto him (*Peter*), he shall not die; but, if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to *thee*?" It certainly does look as if he would like to make Simon Peter responsible for the brethren's belief in his immortality. John would have been wiser, silent. Then, none of the other apostles having recorded it, it would have died out as a legend. His recording, even to disprove or dispute their inference, only fastened it on the church to the end of time. Therefore it is more likely that He was unconsciously moved by the Holy Ghost to "bear record," in order that these sayings might always be known, and, when understood, explain the reason of that singularity in his writings which has gained for him the emblem of the Eagle, and for them the reputation of being, beyond all the other Scriptures, mysterious and mystical.*

St. John's modesty has caused the commentators of this passage no end of trouble. He is like an ingenuous child who betrays the truth the more he tries to hide it. But the body of witnessing apostles is too strong for him. They had been called to this meeting for the express purpose of seeing the restoration of Peter and hearing the promise to John. They had been "breathed on" with the words: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Who so able, then, to read the mind of Christ as they? What conclusion did they draw from

* " Bird, he flies on mighty pinion;
Higher in that vast dominion
Ne'er did bard or prophet soar;
Secrets so profound, so many,
Hidden, or fulfilled, ne'er any
Human seer saw before."

From the translation of the mediæval hymn, *Verbum Dei, Deo nutum*, by Dr. Thomas C. Porter.

His words, and report, so that it became known to the brethren ? They drew the conclusion, "That that disciple should not die." Not die ?—till when ?—till Jesus should come for him ? Nay, not so !—that he should never die. *Never* die ? How was he to reach heaven ? Perishable "flesh and blood can not inherit the kingdom of God." Only a stranger in Israel would ask these questions. The apostles gathered from those words of Christ, spoken in their presence, that John had then, *in the Lord's will*, been delivered from the power of death : and therein they must have been right. But did they say when He would execute His will, and so deliver him actually ? No ; John alone could have answered that question, and it looks as if he did so (whether consciously or unconsciously, none can tell) by recording in his Book of Revelation the Son of Man's glorious appearing to him in a vision, which he thus narrates : "And when I saw Him, I fell at His feet as dead. And He laid His right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not ; I am the First and the Last : I am He that liveth and was dead ; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen ; and have the keys of hell and of death." By that act and those words of Christ, John, it may be presumed, had been rendered *positively* unable to die. Those same apostles were further of the opinion, that, at the Lord's final coming to him, John would be instantaneously "changed" and caught up into glory. That was the deepest interpretation they put on these words of the Lord—"I will that he tarry till I come."

Were they right in this respect ? That question cannot be answered authoritatively. The translation of John, in advance of the Church universal, is not taught as a doctrine, because it is not so stated in the Scriptures. But it was a matter of firm belief with those apostles and brethren. Indeed at the time of writing his gospel, which was late, it looks as if John did not interpret it as they. But then, modesty, if nothing more, would have prevented him. Perhaps his eyes were mercifully holden, for it would have been intolerable for any man to live continually under such a weight of glory. He

does indeed attempt to disclaim the apostles' inference, but deny it he cannot, for the truth is stronger than he. His effort only results in a repetition of the Lord's words, and leaves their testimony, and the opinion of the brethren, among whom the report circulated, as valid and credible as before. Hence it is lawful (for those who can accept it) to believe there was nothing left for St. John but translation. To them, the sound thereof is heard in his submissive words, "Even so;" and in the longing cry, "Come, Lord Jesus."

SECTION X.

The Coming of Christ.

There be many comings of Christ, but what will be the character of His advent to the Church universal? That of a judge to judgment. And of this, what shall be the sign? "The sign of the Son of Man," or Christ's coming as the eternal Son of Man, "in the glory of His Father." Will He come slowly, or suddenly? "As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be." St. John gives a figure of it.* Briefly, it will be characterized by startling unexpectedness, as when a man is suddenly surprised, from "behind;" "a great voice, as of a trumpet;" exceeding brightness of His person, "as the sun shineth in his strength;" "seven stars in His right hand," the number of perfection, to show that He is to take up the whole Church, the dead and the living; "a sword"—not in His hand, for that is the sign of the executioner; nor on His thigh, for that is the sign of the warrior—but "a sword, sharp and two-edged, in His mouth," the token of the paternal judge, who both delivers and acquits; and in His possession will be "the keys of hell (Hades) and of death." With the first He will open the place of departed spirits, to release the band of righteous dead, and with the second He will lock the gate of death against the band of the righteous living, for they

* Rev. i. 10-18.

shall not die, but with the former "be changed" from mortality into immortality, and spirituality, and glorification; in order that together they may enter into heaven, and "see the King in His beauty."

The spiritualizing of these two bands will no doubt take place in their ascension, and their complete glorification, perhaps, at the instant they see the Lord, and by the sight of Him in His glory; for, says St. John, "When He shall appear (or be made manifest to us), we shall be like Him; for we shall see Him as He is."

When St. Peter and St. John stood before their Judge, on the shore of Tiberias, and the first found himself awarded death and darkness, whilst the second was awarded life and light, he may have felt, or been likely to feel, a momentary pang of disappointment. If so, their Master instantly prevented it with the gentle and soothing reminder—"Follow thou *Me*;" and that was sufficient for Peter. He instantly accepted and rejoiced in his fate.

Here, some one, jealous for Peter, may say—Though both were to pass eventually into glory, yet Simon's award was really less than John's, for Simon at the risk of his life had confessed Christ, therefore to these two apostles He might have given, not the same, but an equal reward. But, on the other hand, it may be answered, John's was only a temporary immortality. It did not exclude suffering, whether much or little. Still—some one unsatisfied may again object—*he* was not to go by the lonely road that Enoch, and then Elijah trod, but by the royal way that Jesus opened at His ascension; and in the same manner that all Christians, the risen and the living shall go at the time, now hidden, of Christ's coming for them—by being "caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air." Wherein then did Simon's portion begin to approach to John's, and even John's to that of the Church universally?

To answer that question, some one will compel from its depth this deeper meaning of the words "Follow thou *Me*"—John was to be, in the new dispensation, what Elijah was in

the old—the first fruit of them who shall *never* “sleep,” or die. And Peter was to be, in the same dispensation, what Moses was in the old—the first fruit of them who shall *awake out of sleep*, or death. For an argument in favor of this, turn to the account * of Jesus, six days after Simon’s confession of Him, taking Peter, and James, and John, up into a high mountain apart, where He was transfigured before them, and where appeared unto them Moses and Elias talking with Him. James, probably, typified those of the apostles who should die early; but surely Peter and John, it was intimated, were to be the Moses and Elias of the new covenant; for they alone had been appointed to declare Christ’s generation as both God and Man eternal.

For the deepest and final meaning of those words to Peter, “*Follow thou Me*,” it may be said that Peter was not only to follow Jesus through death and crucifixion. Other of the apostles did this too. And they all, like him, went farther by descending into Hades; though it dare be supposed he was not, like them, to tarry in the place called “Paradise.” The Lord may have had work for him in another part of that underworld. He may have sent him to preach the Gospel to these “spirits in prison”—the ignorant heathen. Jesus at His descent had preached it to the spirits of the antediluvians, who were disobedient in the days of Noah; † and John (who was excluded from the region of the dead) preached it to men condemned, when he was banished to the isle of Patmos—Why should not Peter enlighten those, who, through no fault of their own, had never heard of Christ? Of course the release of Peter’s spirit and the resurrection of his body were one act. And why should not this act, and John’s change, be simultaneous, and these two apostles—who had lived to be old, ‡ and who were “lovely and pleasant in their lives”—be *instantly* “caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the

* Matt. xvii.; Mark ix.; Luke ix.

† 1 Peter iii. 19, 20.

‡ Christ told St. Peter he should be crucified when he was *old*; and St. John, it is said, reached the age of one hundred.

air," as the two bands of His people, the risen and the living, shall be—not separately, but *undivided and together!*

SECTION XI.

Resurrection and Ascension.

The doctrines of the Resurrection and Ascension are exclusively Christian. By them we are taught that all men, good and bad, shall rise; and all shall so far be changed, in rising, as to be ever after incapable of dying. But, not all men shall ascend. Only those who have the two-fold life of their Redeemer in them can, through these changes, follow Him on high. Therefore, to be raised up out of the grave at the last day, capable of suffering everlastingly in the body, is one thing; and to be raised up off the earth at the last day, into Heaven, there to live forever blissfully in the body, is quite another.

Resurrection and Ascension, the latter particularly, are the burden of St. John's song of eternal life: "This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life: and I will *raise him up* at the last day. No man can come to Me, except the Father which hath sent Me draw him: and I will *raise him up* at the last day," *—up, not only out of the grave, but up above the earth, up above the heavens, up into the highest heaven, to the company of God and His Christ. And after he himself had entered heaven, it is easy to believe that he did indeed never rest till he saw his "Best Beloved's glory." †

For those who shall rise no higher than out of their graves at the last day, it were better, according to the Scriptures, if

* St. John vi. 40, 44, 54.

† " Heaven he passes through, and centres
His keen vision, as he enters,
On the true Sun's dazzling rim,
And his ardent search pursueth,
Till the face of God he vieweth
'Neath the wings of Seraphim."

—*Verbum Dei, Deo natum.*

they never rose at all. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt, or abhorrence." * "All that are in the graves shall hear His voice, and come forth; they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation."

Why should it be thought more incredible that God would raise the righteous to heaven *without* death than bring them there by *means* of death? Those separate and singular promises of Christ to Peter and John made a great stir among the apostles, and no doubt all of them, as well as Simon, would rather have been translated than die; though none would have been ready, like Peter, to say so, for he was more frank and artless than they; wherefore the Father had chosen to make to him His great revelation! Not one was allowed to choose his own fate; and Peter's lips were held with the sovereign words, "What is that to thee?" and the gracious, loving and alluring favor, "Follow thou Me."

SECTION XII.

The Gospel of St. John.

"If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou Me."

The interpretations put upon this text by expositors are not satisfactory, because they leave in the mind of the reader a picture of Jesus in the centre of His little group of disciples with an enigmatical reply on His lips, and Peter and John on one side of Him, and the remaining five on the other, perplexed and bewildered, and disputing about its meaning.

By this the peerless Gospel of St. John is robbed, as a work of art, a creation, a divine creation, too, by the Holy Ghost through him, of its completion and crown. John's intention is to describe the last and culminating scene in a

grand drama. He here represents Jesus as a father in the character of a judge and sovereign, to whom has been given, by the Highest, "all power in heaven and in earth." His disciples have indeed been weak and erring; but they are still His children. He is no longer their Master, hiding the secret things of God, and they His "servants, who know not what their Lord doeth." They are His friends, for He tells them: "All things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." Whilst dispensing favors and rewards to some, He is distinguishing all with forgiveness and love and confidence, for this is the beginning of that promised day, in the which they shall ask Him what they will, and receive it, because they shall ask nothing contrary to His will. And therefore Peter's desire, which could not have been granted, is nipped in the bud, whilst John's fate is made known to him and them.

"Then went this saying abroad among the brethren: That that disciple should not die." "Yet," as the person most concerned, *I*, John, say, "Jesus said *not* unto him (Peter), he shall not die; but if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" Even so. No one disputes it. But this is wide from the point. None of the apostles reported that Jesus *said* he should not die. They only drew it as an inference, told it as such to some of the brethren, and these spread it to others, and thus it grew into a common belief. But Peter's question, "Lord, and what shall this man do?" served the good purpose of opening the way for Jesus to declare that He would come, personally, for John, and for John to hear it. Christ knew it would be easier and sweeter for him to wait with this in his mind than with the conclusion the brethren came to,—that he should not die.

But, on the other hand, the disciples could have argued that Jesus did not say of John, he *shall* die, nor predict death of him, as He did of Peter, in any shape or form. On the contrary, He intimated so clearly that he should *not* die, that they were obliged to accept it; and they instantly published

it as a fact,—a fact which it is very evident Christ intended that John himself, at some future time, should unwittingly publish by his letters from Patmos to those seven representative churches in Asia.

In the words—"Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not"—Jesus did not say plainly that Peter should die, and die by crucifixion; and yet John drew both his death and the manner of it in the comment: "This spake He signifying by what manner of death he should glorify God." Why should John's conclusion in Peter's case be any more correct than that of the disciples in his own? The Master allowed them to go away laboring under the impression that John should not die, an impression so strong and wonderful that they would surely communicate it to others. If it was an error which would afterwards need correcting, why did He not prevent its circulation by checking them as quickly and thoroughly as He did Peter? or, as later, He did the apostles when in answer to their question—"Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"—He said, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in His own power." By refraining, He helped to disseminate it; and therefore St. John, however modestly and innocently he strove against it, must always bear the charge of inability to die, and consequent translation. There will never be wanting brethren to side against him, and with the six disciples, and the Lord; with the disciples to whom it had "been given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven," and with the Lord who did not anticipate their conclusion with a withering rebuke. To these he will always be, "St. John *the Divine*"; that is the Immortal, the Exempted from Death.

St. John's Gospel is not, as the common and universal interpretation of its closing chapter would make it, a broken

pillar in the desert; nor yet, though lofty, one unfinished and uncrowned. Neither is it a fire, ever burning, whose flames rise into smoke and darkness. It is a column of living light, let down from heaven into the world, where its steady rays mount and point unceasingly upward to the source from whence it came. His last chapter is not an anticlimax. It is the grand and natural outcome of his discourse on eternal human life. Beginning with the *Logos*, the writer follows Him from the time He leaves His Father's glory till He returns to it, not solitary as He came, but with the legitimate object of His incarnation accomplished, having, through His becoming created and mortal man, brought man back to God, immortal, divine and glorious like Himself. And His disciples Peter and John are here crowned as the two great trophies of and witnesses to this fact.

John's gospel is a great drama, the last scene of which prefigures Christ's mode of dealing with His church as a judge. Peter and John, as the principal offenders, are restored, and in them the rest of the twelve, except Judas, who had decided his own fate. 'All His disciples forsook Him and fled,' and John did no more than the others, it may be thought? True; but John was that disciple whom Jesus loved, and who leaned on His bosom at the last supper. The offence was greater in him than in any, except Peter; and he is here restored with Peter; for Christ though a loving father is also an impartial judge. Behold, then, in this scene how Jesus, the Sovereign Lord to whom has been given at His return from the grave all power in heaven and in earth, and the keys of hell and of death—behold how He judges His people, true and faithful, in spite of their sins. In advance of the church universal, He gives to the one offender resurrection and ascension, and to the other translation, so that he should not see death! Being the heirs of His eternal life, they are His sons, and the first, He pronounces, shall be but a little while held by the grave, and the second never be touched by the last great foe of man.

Peter, the son of His highest divinity, and representative of the church in its sufferings and struggles, is commanded to follow Him closely through the bitterness and darkness to the bright and blissful end. And John, the son of His highest humanity, is bidden to follow Him through never ending, but ever changing life and light till he reaches his consummation in light and life unchangeable. He is a *Boanerges*, one of "the Sons of Thunder," and his tarrying is to figure the patient waiting of the church for its Lord, its indestructibility and final change into glory. And after it has been (as represented in his person) bidden, "Come up hither, and I will shew thee things which must be hereafter," he who desired to call down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans, is further to herald "the wrath of the Lamb," and that great judgment of the world, which shall begin with the withdrawal of the church out of it; and end, finally, with the Son of Man's second coming into it, to restore it to more than its primitive glory.

In this exposition there has no use been made of the many *legends* extant, for and against St. John's immortality; simply because Christians are bound to reject *such* in interpreting the Scriptures. The Bible alone is their rule of faith. But then it must be the whole Bible, and not merely parts of it; and the Bible as a unit, complete and harmonious; and not fragmentary and discordant. Those portions of the Scripture "in which are some things hard to be understood," must not, on this account, be relegated to the land of forbidden things. It is not unlawful to touch them. "*All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*" *

In the light of the preceding explanations, then, look at Peter and John following their Master, when He was on earth, whithersoever He went. See John, at the Last Supper, lean-

* II Tim. iv. 16, 17.

ing on the bosom of Jesus, Peter beckoning to him, and John asking for him, "Lord, who is it" (that shall betray Thee?) See them, at the news of the resurrection, trying to outrun each other to the empty sepulchre; and, when Jesus stood on the shore of Tiberias, and the disciples supposed it was a spirit, hear John saying to Peter, "It is the Lord!" and see Peter casting himself into the sea, in his haste to reach Him. And after they had dined, and Simon had been restored to his apostleship, hear him, in his turn, asking for John, "Lord, and what shall this man do?" (also to "glorify God") and behold, as the result of this *untimely question*, Jesus in the same breath crowning Peter with crucifixion and death for His sake, and John, for the same sweet sake, with life and immortality!

Also, after Christ's ascension, look at these twin-brothers in the Lord going up *together* into the temple at the hour of prayer, and being asked an alms of the lame man who lay at the gate called Beautiful, see Peter fastening his eyes on him *with* John, and hear him saying, "*Look on us.*" And having performed the first miracle of the new church, their joint-miracle (for whilst Peter spake John looked, such a look as Jesus gives); see them again as "the lame man which was healed held Peter and John, and all the people ran together unto them into the porch that is called Solomon's, greatly wondering:" and hear Peter—whilst they are again, a second time, thus held by him—preach Christ. And, as the result of this preaching, see him and John put into the same prison for their testimony of Jesus, and when released and commanded "not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus," hear Peter and John as *they* answered and said unto them, "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye: for *we* can not but speak the things which *we* have seen and heard." How inseparable they were, as long as it was possible for them to be so in this world! Therefore it is not hard to believe that at Christ's set time, and by the power of the Spirit, they met each other and en-

tered heaven together ; and together looked up, undazzled, to the Sun of suns, " the Sun of Righteousness—looked at Him, who, " in the beginning was with God, and was God," and without whom " was not anything made that was made"—looked into the face of Jesus, and found themselves like Him—transfigured and glorified—and thus " alive for evermore. Amen."

SECTION XII.

Conclusion.

Was Simon Bar-Jona aware of the significance of his " new name ? " Not at the time the Messiah gave it to him, for he did not then know the vast extent of his own confession. Hence Christ veiled the name under the figure of " a rock," whilst the truth which was at the bottom of Peter's words of, " Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," He also hid under the image of " this rock." The time had not come for His disciples to know the ultimate meaning of those words *petros* and *petra*, any more than it had for the Jews to know Him as their divine Messiah, or for the Gentiles to learn Him as God incarnate. But when St. Peter uses as his favorite images of the Christ, " a living Stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God and precious," which, though to the disobedient a " Stone of stumbling and a Rock of offence," has become to those who believe, " the Head of the corner ;"—when he addresses his people as " lively (or living) stones, built up a spiritual house," or family, and quotes, in so doing, the very words of Isaiah that have been used in this exposition of his name: " Behold, I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious ; and he that believeth on Him shall not be confounded ;"—when he exhorted his people to " love one another with a pure heart fervently, being *born again*, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the WORD of God, which liveth and abideth forever,"—there can be no doubt he was fully conscious that the Lord had embodied his confession of Himself in the new name of " Peter," when He be-

stowed it on him; though he would have been the last to hint that such was the fact. It can only be gathered from the strong impression which the words and images in the quotations above made upon him.

Long before this the apostles had ceased to argue who of them should be the greatest. They had all received the honor which comes from above, and this made them forgetful of self, and jealous only for the praise and glory of their Master. Simon's distinction would never have been known but for others. In the Gospel of St. Mark (dictated by Peter), he mentions his full and energetic confession of Christ in the briefest and feeblest terms; whereas his denial of Him he records minutely. He makes known his own defection, but of the Lord's full and free forgiveness, and perfect restoration afterwards, with further honors, he says not a word. St. John "is the disciple which testifieth of these things: and we know that his testimony is true."

The disciples of Jesus, whilst He was yet with them, were not quick to learn, and He upbraided them—"O fools, and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken!" The author of the epistle to the Hebrews had to contend with the same difficulty when teaching the exalted nature of Christ and His priesthood—"Of whom we have many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing. For when for the time ye ought to be teachers, ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat."

For a man of Simon Bar-Jona's cast of mind, averse to introspection, and delighting in a faith wholly objective, it would have been impossible to unfold and apply the work of Christ, as St. Paul did. He was given as much to study the workings of his own mind, as the operations of God's Spirit; and his faith was (what, to be perfect, faith ought to be) both subjective and objective. And yet, St. Paul sat at the feet of St. Peter, as well as at the feet of Gamaliel. Three years after

his conversion, he went up to Jerusalem to see him, and abode with him fifteen days; and if he afterwards wielded the powerful weapons, which Cephas then placed in his hands, more masterly than Cephas himself, that was not his merit, nor Peter's fault, but God's will. The Spirit's chief gift to Simon was not (like Paul's) great argumentative power, but fervid and resistless eloquence. Paul richly repaid him in his writings, which Peter studied and defended: and he also saved him from a second fiendish design of Satan to entrap him into denying the Lord. With true Christian fidelity he showed him—at 'Antioch, where he withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed'—that, through his efforts to fit the gospel to the differing prejudices of Jew and Gentile, he was fast becoming a transgressor! It can well be imagined that Simon started in horror at this sudden unveiling of his mortal foe, and that the feeling with which he afterwards wrote of St. Paul, as "our dearly beloved brother," was most genuine. But what would he have thought, could his mentor have further shown him that under his double-dealing Satan was at work, not only to procure him another downfall, but to make the Messiah appear as a false Christ!

In Jerusalem, and on the day of Pentecost, St. Peter opened the Christian church to the Jews; and at the conversion of Cornelius he further opened it to the Gentiles. And, after this, he preached in foreign cities to the Jews dispersed among the Gentiles, and then perhaps taught the Gentiles themselves. Therefore it is not surprising to hear that one of his epistles (the first) was sent from "Babylon on the Euphrates." But, mark how significant this was in his case! Babylon was the city in which Nebuchadnezzar, its king, had that dream of "a stone cut out without hands," the stone that became a great mountain, and thus prefigured the Christian church which the 'God of heaven was to set up, and which should never be destroyed, but should fill the whole earth, and be a kingdom from generation to generation.' * And of this kingdom, when

* Dan. II: 34, 44, 45.

the Messiah began to proclaim its approach, He had chosen Simon Bar-Jona to be the first representative, and as a disciple had named him "Cephas, a stone." How appropriate then, and how natural it was that *he*, when become, as an apostle, "Peter the Rock," should have been led by the Spirit of God to proclaim the fulfilment of that ancient prophecy in the very city where, so many years before, it had been uttered by Daniel the prophet, who 'had understanding in all visions and dreams, and was a man greatly beloved.'

X.

NCTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE RESULTANT GREEK TESTAMENT, Exhibiting the Text in which the Majority of Modern Editors are Agreed, and Containing the Readings of Stephens (1550), Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Lightfoot, Ellicott, Alford, Weiss, The Bale Edition (1880), Westcott, and Hort, and the Revision Committee. By Richard Francis Weymouth, D. Lit., Fellow of University College, London. With an Introduction by the Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Worcester. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York and Toronto. 1892. Price, \$3.00.

The character of this book is very well set forth in the contents of its title-page which we have given in full. Its purpose is "to exhibit in a compact and intelligible form the latest *results* of textual criticism." Based on the most important editions of the Greek New Testament that have been published during the last half century from Lachmann downwards, its text is that in which the majority of modern critics are agreed. In the upper corner of each page, moreover, "all the authorities for that portion of the text are named"; while in the footnotes are given "the readings which have won less numerous or less weighty suffrages." In this volume, accordingly, we may be said to have furnished us all the best modern editions of the Greek Testament, and that in such a way as enables the student most readily and easily to compare them and note their points of agreement and difference. For practical purposes, therefore, it is the most desirable of all editions of the Greek New Testament, and will be found unusually serviceable by all who would thoroughly inform themselves as regards the original text and the true teaching of this portion of the Holy Scriptures. The book, we would yet add, is strongly and handsomely bound and of very convenient size for constant use. As its value becomes known there will no doubt be a large demand for it on the part of ministers and theological students.

THE PSALMS. By A. Maclaren, D.D. Volume 1. Psalms i,—xxxviii. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

In this volume Dr. Maclaren of Manchester, who is known as one of the ablest preachers of the present time, gives an exposition of the first thirty-eight Psalms. Questions of date and authorship he leaves untouched, venturing "to think that the deepest and most

precious elements in the Psalms are very slightly affected by the answers to these questions, and that expository treatment of the bulk of the Psalter may be separated from critical without condemning the latter to incompleteness." His work, we think, proves the correctness of his view. His expositions without exception are clear, instructive and spiritually stimulating and therefore well deserving the careful attention of all who are interested in Bible study. Both ministers and laymen will find them suggestive and edifying. The work is in every respect worthy a place in the series of the Expositor's Bible to which it belongs.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By Robert Rainy, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

This volume like the one just noticed above forms part of the Expositor's Bible. The Epistle which it aims to expound is an interesting one, and the exposition is of the same character. Dr. Rainy writes in a simple, intelligible and flowing style, and shows himself thoroughly acquainted with the Apostle's thought which he elucidates in a very instructive manner. His work is accordingly a valuable contribution to expository literature. We commend it to our readers as well worth having and studying.

THE PILLAR IN THE NIGHT. By Rev. J. R. Macduff, D.D., Author of "Morning and Night Watches," "Bow in the Cloud," etc. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price, 1.25.

As the Pillar of Fire gave light to the people of Israel in the wilderness during the night-time, so this volume is intended to give light to those whose life has been darkened by affliction and sorrow. It is made up of thirty-one beautifully written meditations, one for each day in the month. These meditations "have no systematic plan, connection or reference," but "each is independent of what precedes or follows." They are all, however, full of sympathetic and consoling thought. Among the subjects considered are, Divine Sovereignty, Resurrection and Life, Future Recognition, Full Salvation, Abounding Grace, The Power of Prayer, The Chastisement of Love, Heaven, Light in Darkness, Everlasting Light and Unchanging Love, etc. It is a work which is admirably designed to give comfort to the afflicted and sorrowing.

THE SERMON BIBLE. 2 Corinthians—Philippians. . New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

This is the tenth volume of the series to which it belongs. Its character is the same as that of the volumes that have preceded it. The sketches of sermons which it contains are all highly suggestive and full of profound thought. The references to sermons and papers on the texts treated are full and valuable. Rightly used, the volume will be found helpful. One of the merits of the work is

that the sketches of sermons given cannot well be used just as given, but need to be carefully studied and worked over to be of any real service.

THROUGH CHRIST TO GOD. A Study in Scientific Theology. By Joseph Agar Beet, D.D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1898. Price, \$1.50.

Dr. Beet hopes, in a series of four volumes, "to give, in short outline, an exposition of all that is known by man touching the unseen basis of religion, thus covering the whole chief matter of Systematic Theology." Of this series the present volume is the first and the only one as yet published. In it Dr. Beet deals with the great fundamental doctrines of the gospel, and attempts "to show that by a strictly historical and scientific and philosophical method, definite and assured results may be reached touching the unseen foundations of religion." The volume is made up of five parts. The first part deals with the preliminaries, i. e., with Religion and Theology, the Visible and the Invisible, the Moral Sense, Retribution and the Grave, Christianity and Christ, the Christian Documents, and the Moral Teaching of Christ. In the second part Justification through Faith is considered, explained and vindicated; in the third part The Death of Christ claims attention; in the fourth part, The Son of God; and in the fifth part, The Resurrection of Christ. All these subjects are ably treated, and definite and assured results are attained in regard to them. We may, therefore, the author maintains, "claim for Theology a PLACE AMONG THE SCIENCES. And, since it goes further than any other branch of research in explaining and unifying the various groups of phenomena and the various deductions derived from them, and since matters with which it deals are the noblest which have ever engaged the thought of man, we may speak of Theology as the HIGHEST PHILOSOPHY." The second volume of the series will treat of *The New Life in Christ*; the third, of *The Church of Christ*; and the fourth and concluding volume of *The Last Things*. The work is one that deserves the attention of all who are interested in the fundamental questions of Systematic Theology. Dr. Beet is not only a superior scholar, but a trained theologian and a clear and profound thinker.

CHRIST ENTROINED IN THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD: A Discussion of Christianity in Property and Labor. By Charles Reade. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. 1892. Price, \$1.00.

This volume deals with practical questions of great interest and importance. In the Industrial World the author rightly claims Christ should rule as well as elsewhere. In Him alone he correctly maintains, have we a truly effective remedy for the evils of everyday life and the true solution of its vexing and disturbing questions.

This great truth is earnestly and forcibly urged upon the attention of the reader throughout the entire work. In treating his subject, however, the author not unfrequently falls into errors in philosophy and in style. These defects somewhat seriously mar the character of the work, yet nevertheless it can scarcely fail to prove spiritually beneficial to the reader.

THRILLING SCENES IN THE PERSIAN KINGDOM. The Story of a Scribe. By Edwin MacMinn. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis, 1892. Price, \$ 1.10.

This is an interesting story of interesting and thrilling events. In a vivid and instructive manner the author portrays the men and women, the customs and manners, and the doings of the Persian Court in the days of Esther, the Queen. The work is one which the old and the young will read with profit and delight. It is especially suited to the wants of Sunday-school teachers and scholars, and deserves a place in every Sunday-school library.

STORIES FROM INDIAN WIGWAMS AND NORTHERN CAMP-FIRES. By Egerton Ryerson Young, author of "By Canoe and Dog-train," "Oowikapun," etc., etc. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis, 1893. Price, \$1.25.

These stories are full of interest and instruction. They give much valuable information about the life and character of the aboriginal inhabitants of the American continent, and can scarcely fail to awaken increased interest in missionary work among the Indians generally. The book is such as would have delighted us in our boyhood, and we have no doubt it will delight all young persons into whose hands it may come. Like the volume noticed above it ought to find a place in the Sunday school library. All classes of readers, however, will find it entertaining and worthy of perusal.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ZOOLOGY. A Guide for Beginners. By Richard C. Schiedt, Professor of Natural Sciences in Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa. Lancaster, Pa.: Examiner Printing House. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

We have given us in this volume, in a condensed but nevertheless intelligible and readable form, the latest results of morphological research. Its contents are based upon the larger text-books of Professors Arnold Lang, Berthold Hatschek, and Korschelt and Heider, which have not as yet been published in the English language. Though the work has been specially prepared for college students it will yet be found valuable by all who would obtain a general acquaintance with the views of the leading scientists of our times on the subject of which it treats. The fact that it has been already introduced as a text-book in several of our leading institutions of learning, is, in itself, strong testimony as to its merits. The Reformed Church has cause to congratulate itself on having its author as a professor in its chief literary and scientific institution in this country.

BIBLE CHARACTERS. By B. Bausman, D.D., Author of "Sinai and Zion' and Wayside Gleanings." Reading, Pa.: Daniel Miller, Publisher. 1893.

This new book has come to hand just as the matter for this number of the REVIEW has already been made up and nearly all of it printed. We can, therefore, find room for only a brief notice.

The subject of the book has been often treated and by many authors, and yet there is a vein of originality and freshness running through this book which makes it specially instructive and attractive to the reader. Dr. Bausman is specially qualified to write on Bible characters. Those characters belong to a foreign land with which comparatively few persons are acquainted. The author has had the advantage of a tour in Palestine, Egypt, and a second tour in Europe, and he is, therefore, specially qualified to interpret life in foreign lands. Especially is he able to bring to bear his knowledge of Palestine in a way that he could not do so well in his former work on the holy land.

But Dr. Bausman writes also from long experience and study. His style is racy, full of life and never dull. He can make a common subject interesting. Any one who reads his biography of Eve, the mother of us all, will feel drawn to read on to the end of the volume. A biography, like a good portrait painting, must have life in it, and this is especially characteristic of Dr. Bausman's biographies. We hope the work may have a large circulation. It is a valuable addition to the literature of our church.

SEALED UNTO CHRIST. A Confirmation Manual. Compiled by Ambrose M. Schmidt, Pastor of St. Mark's Memorial Reformed Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. Printed for the Author. Wickersham Printing Co., Lancaster, Pa. 1893. Price, 15 cents.

This booklet is designed to be a Confirmation Souvenir. Besides a Certificate of Confirmation, it contains a number of appropriate meditations and hymns. The meditations are by ministers of the Reformed Church, and breathe the spirit of her teachings. The little volume is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it has been prepared, and ought to find a large sale.

THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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I.

THE DISHONESTY OF HERESY.

BY PROFESSOR JACOB COOPER, S. T. D., D. C. L., RUTGERS COLLEGE.

THE prophet in predicting the sufferings of Christ, declared that his wounds would be received in the house of His friends. However grievous the thought be, that a man's chief foes are those of his own household, yet such is the power of the devil to work harm to the people of God, that this has always been true of the Church; and must be accepted as a necessary condition under which the Gospel will struggle. History and the words of our Lord confirm this alike; and hence, without being able to fathom the Divine purpose in permitting the fiercest wolves to come from within the nominal fold, we must accept the fact and meet the issue.

If it were with external foes alone that the Church had to fight, the battle would be short and the victory decisive. But since so many depart from the faith they once professed, the world doubts whether any doctrine be sound which can be so caricatured by its pretended followers. And if those still within the fold can with impunity call in question all the distin-

guishing tenets of Christianity, if those set apart to teach its doctrines can ridicule as bigots all who remain steadfast to their creed, if they can assail as uncharitable those who prefer the truth to communion with heretics, what can the Church offer as an inducement to seek her membership? It is not the doctrines of the Bible as they unfold themselves to fair-minded readers, or as the Church embodies them in her confessions, which present so many vulnerable points, as the interpretations put upon these doctrines by their pledged defenders when seeking to justify their own unfaithfulness. Naturally the utterances of those who, from their position, should be the authorized defenders of a creed, are taken as its true exposition. But when in defiance of solemn vows to inculcate nothing but what their creed contains they teach everything save its obvious meaning, the world takes for granted that all their brethren are equally dishonest—that none in fact believe what they profess.

The perils from false brethren are constant. These create confusion in the body of Christ, and destroy that peace which is essential to spiritual growth. They clothe the Church with dishonor by their unfaithfulness to professed belief; and in giving the enemy cause to blaspheme they hinder the progress of the Gospel among the unbelieving. They remain within the Church as long as possible to enjoy its honors and fatten on its charities, and, when the brethren can endure them no longer, go out heavily laden with plunder. Thus they do their utmost to destroy the mother who nurtured them and gave them all the strength they possess. Certainly this is worse than open warfare; it is more dishonorable than the hostility of the avowed infidel; it is the most poisoned weapon that Satan ever hurled against the Church on earth.

The phases of Heresy are many, and its methods of troubling the Church are constantly changing. Consisting as it does of negations there is no common ground of belief; and it has the special privilege of being inconsistent, and yet always true to its own principle. For as its work is to destroy what others have built up, however unreasonable this may be, since it has

no positive views of its own, he who would answer them must beat the air. Each age of the Church has its special trials from false brethren. For Heresy, like the plague, makes its appearance whenever the air is impure, and spreads among those who have not the strength to resist its attack. The present disease is in the form of Higher Criticism, which aims to prove that the Holy Scriptures are not inerrant; and therefore the Church has no infallible guide, and her Creeds no Divine warrant for their existence. The conduct of some recent disturbers of the peace in the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches makes it pertinent to consider the relations of heretics to the general body of believers; and whether it is common honesty to hold an authoritative position in a religious body, and at the same time teach that which manifestly brings confusion among its members, and if accepted by all would destroy its very existence. For while the subject is not new, since it receives fresh illustration by what is witnessed in our day and relates to a perpetual peril of the Church, there is propriety in calling attention to it as a means of counteracting threatened danger.

NECESSITY FOR A CREED.

The existence of a body of believers involves the idea of a common belief expressed in an intelligible formula of doctrine. For if there be a common Faith there must also be a common understanding of its substance; and this must be expressed in precise, unambiguous words inwrought into a harmonious system. Hence the existence of a creed is a prime necessity, without which there can be no visible Church. And even the scattered members of the invisible Church who are known only to God, and each one to himself by the witness of the Holy Spirit testifying to his conscience, must be one in Christ Jesus. Consequently, if faith form any part of their spiritual life, they too must believe substantially in some creed, however it be expressed. For as there is one Lord so there can be but one faith; and by the one baptism of the Holy Ghost, they must all be inducted into that new life which is nourished by a belief

in the truth. In whatever way this matter be looked at the conclusion must be the same. If there be an objective truth by which the soul is renewed, then the knowledge of this must be taught to the intelligence through the medium of words or their equivalent signs; whether this be by the external means of human instruction, or the inward inspiration of God speaking directly to the heart. For faith implies something upon which the soul rests for support; and this involves knowledge by which it apprehends the fundamental truths which constitute that support, and this knowledge requires intelligible communication by words or their equivalents. And if the foundation be the same in substance for all believers, if they need to be renewed through the same means—all of which is assumed by Christians universally—we are forced to admit that this involves a CREED, or FORM OF SOUND WORDS.

It is undoubtedly true that a man may be a Christian though he have but an obscure idea of the truths of revelation. Perhaps he is not able intellectually to have any other sort; but this does not prove the desirableness of being an ignorant believer. With this knowledge, as with any other, clearness and vigor of apprehension are main elements. Sharply defined grasp of scientific truth is certainly to be sought above all things else by such as are studying any subject of human knowledge. Many who profess knowledge of a given science have succeeded in acquiring only a cloudy, ambiguous apprehension of it; but this is their misfortune. It is certainly the best recommendation of a scientific treatise, that it embodies, as far as possible, two things: 1st. The whole sum of truths as far as known touching the given subject. 2d. That these truths are systematized in the clearest and tersest language. Nor is it any less necessary to aim at this result because some things relating to the science be not yet clearly understood; or even if parts of it be in dispute. Still, that treatise which best satisfies the conditions named is the most valuable system in itself, and most acceptable to all who wish to master the subject matter of which it treats.

The case is precisely so in spiritual things. To enable us to reach this result we have a Guide, infallible in its statements, all comprehensive in its reach, and offering unequalled facilities for being reduced to system. The truths it contains start from a central idea of God the Creator, and man the creature. Proceeding from this co-ordinate notion, we have the relations of these two as they work out their results, involving the general laws of moral government, as well as the special interference of Providence in controlling man; and his every act and thought while subject to this control in effecting his discipline for immortality. The knowledge of this subject is the science of Religion; and this necessitates a creed—that precious treasure to every one who wishes to know the truth—that scarecrow and nightmare to such as have no genuine conception of faith, and who measure all others by themselves. Without a creed or its equivalent—call it by what name you please, the idea still remains the same—there could be no Church, no united body of believers, no concerted action, and hence no progress in evangelizing the world. And even if the creed be imperfect, it is still a necessity of our present condition. For we must have a guide to direct ourselves aright, and to teach others. Without this we are in the world as a ship at sea without chart or compass; in darkness with no stars by which to direct our course; tossed about by the currents of passion and every wind of doctrine. We need leading ideas, clearly defined, firmly rooted, easy to remember as a resort in times of danger when beset by sudden temptation, or harassed by doubt. And we must have a secure place to anchor our hopes, a *ποῦ στῶ*, if we would use the lever of faith to raise ourselves above the present evil world.

STATES REQUIRE A CODE.

States acquire stability only after they have formulated a Constitution or Bill of Rights, as an expression of the principles by which they are governed. No considerable body of men have ever been able to continue in civil society unless they had some common principles of administration to secure obedience

from the individual will. The code appears among ancient peoples as soon as they emerge from savage life. Moreover, the clearer, the less cumbersome, the more accurately defined, the principles of law are, the more closely will society be knit together, and fulfill the purposes of good government.

The same fact holds good everywhere. No body of men ever unite in the pursuit of a common object without defining the purposes for which they form the association, and the laws by which they shall be controlled. The large corporation or the simple partnership of two men engaged in trade; the charter of a great city or the incorporation of a village alike have the terms and objects of their association drawn up in regular form. In each of the several cases, what the Twelve Tables or the Code, the Magna Charta or the Constitution, the Articles of Agreement or the Terms of Partnership, are for the purposes of civil government or business in temporal affairs, even so is the Creed to the people of God in spiritual things.

The necessity of one may be discovered unmistakably by the evils which attend its absence. No professed Christians have ever declaimed more loudly against creeds than the disciples of Alexander Campbell. They have held that the New Testament is creed enough for them; and that there is no need of systematizing its truths as a guide to believers. But the consequences of this polity, as admitted with grief by the founder of this sect, were that straightway, "There were all sorts of preaching by all sorts of men." So the Unitarian Church finds a like difficulty from the adoption of a creed which is so loose in its terms that it has practically no binding force. For, though this denomination is more generally cultured and intelligent than any other of equal size, yet despite the fact that they admit to fellowship almost every shade of opinion, they do not increase in numbers, and make no progress in winning the world to Christianity. Their liberty itself seems fatal to their existence; and their most devoted adherents lament the looseness of that "rope of sand" by which they are held together. They clearly foresee and admit that

their denomination must come to naught unless they shall succeed in defining more accurately their belief—as they say—but as other people can see at once, unless something more positive be fixed upon as a basis of belief. For it must be evident to every one who will observe closely that they have no cardinal doctrines which can give comfort to an inquirer, or be seized upon as rallying points and watchwords for aggressive movement. The consequence is that the more earnest souls, who require sincere spiritual nourishment, are driven by their own earnestness to orthodoxy; while those of the opposite character fall by their own natural gravity into infidelity. We conclude then from the relations of men in any society, whether formed for temporal or spiritual purposes, that a creed is found to be a necessity; and this truth is corroborated fully by the experience of those who try to dispense with it.

ACCEPTANCE OF A CREED.

Assuming that a creed is a necessity to a Church, the obligations of those who have accepted it, and promised obedience to its requirements as conditions of membership and holding office in it, are next to be considered.

The Church of Jesus Christ is a voluntary association. Perfect freedom of belief and action are indispensable to an intelligent religious life. No man can be forced to believe that which his conscience and judgment disapprove, and if he could there would be no virtue in the act. Neither can any one be seduced by trickery to give adherence to a formula of doctrine, whose signification he does not know because he can neither assent to nor reject that which he does not comprehend. Should any one plead that he has been deceived into accepting a confession of faith, as an extenuation for his act in rejecting the same, this would dishonor his intelligence so much that his conduct would have no significance or influence. The Form of Sound Words drawn from an Infallible Scripture stands at the threshold of Church membership. It is expressed in terse, simple language suited to any capacity, and invites the closest scrutiny. Its expounders are stationed expressly

to give every needed explanation; and these when in the line of duty, bid all to stand aloof until they can fully comprehend and cordially approve the essential doctrines of the Church they represent.

The catechumen owes it to himself to master clearly every part of the doctrinal basis on which his faith is to rest; and cannot, therefore, unless false to his conscience, promise obedience to that which his reason does not grasp. It is not meant that he fathom all the mysteries of faith, but that he apprehend the import of the words in their common acceptation. Duty to himself imperatively demands this much before he becomes a member of the religious corporation, that he should accept its creed fully, that he assent *ex animo*, and not *pro forma*. If he has any doubts he is self-condemned; if he accepts that which he does not cordially believe, he is false. For it should be borne in mind that this is an intensely personal act by which a man promises adherence to a formula of faith. Upon himself alone the obligation primarily rests to be clear in his understanding of the terms of admission, and sincere in their full acceptation. His duties in this respect are both absolute and relative: absolute, in the significance which the creed has to his spiritual life; relative, in the attitude into which it brings him to the individual members of the church which he joins and the body at large.

But these are duties resting solely on himself, which can be delegated to no other, and for which he is solely responsible. And before he can become a member of the religious body, though he be already satisfied in his intellect and conscience, he is required to promise most solemnly to study the peace, the prosperity and the good fame of the church to which he seeks admission. Even if he make no verbal or written promise, still there would be a tacit understanding fully involving all this. For no church would accept a member coming with the intention to create scandal, disorder or schism; and the applicant knowing this would be false and treacherous if he entered for such purpose, though nothing were said on this subject. But,

to the tacit agreement, there is added the most binding promise which it is possible for any man to give. This obligation is unlimited in its extent within the obvious meaning of the creed, and can be weakened by no mental reservation, for this would be lying to the Holy Spirit; neither can it be by any expressed dissent, for this would insure his rejection by that body he seeks to enter.

PECULIAR OBLIGATIONS OF THE MINISTRY AND TEACHERS OF
THE CHURCH.

The foregoing may all be predicated of the ordinary private believer who seeks membership in a church. How much more then is the obligation increased in the case of one who aspires to be an expounder of the creed, and so to indoctrinate others into its requirements! Here let us consider the nature of these obligations a little more closely. The candidate seeks admission to the church, and asks to be allowed to subscribe to its confession of faith. The Church does not go to him and ask his assistance to enable her to settle her doctrines. He is not one of the original parties to the compact, and hence has nothing whatever to do in fixing the terms. If he, in company with others, formed a voluntary association *de novo* and for purposes which they were competent to control, and with them defined their principles of action, the case would be entirely different. They who have power to fix the terms of a voluntary association and therefore have the control of its entire policy, may change, modify or destroy their own work. But the terms of a creed are fixed by the words of Revelation. God speaks in the person of Jesus Christ, and teaches what His Church shall believe. The Church is not the creation of man, but of God. Its doctrines are determined for it. They may be systematized by the intellect of man; but only so far as they express the mind of the Spirit speaking through His word are they set forth or received as of binding force. And every man who honestly accepts a confession of faith does so in this sense. If he does so in any other, he is false to himself, to the Church and to the Redeemer.

Thus the Church and its formulæ are something which the applicant for admission finds already existing antecedent and independent of his application; and with which he has nothing to do so far as to settling the doctrine or polity. If he be admitted to membership the relative obligation to faithful adherence cannot be terminated at will while he continues in the communion; and so can never cease unless the society be disbanded and all its members renounce their creed. Even in case all the others died, his absolute obligation would still be valid. And if all the rest apostatized, their unfaithfulness would not absolve him as an honest man from his allegiance. His attitude in subscribing to the formulæ, as we have seen, is purely voluntary; yet after this act he has no alternative but obedience. For if he can throw off his allegiance this must be because it was wrong to assume it; and the offense rests with himself, not with the body, which he of his own motion joined.

WHAT COMMON HONESTY REQUIRES.

It is not meant that a man is compelled to believe precisely the same doctrines all the time. He may discover by subsequent growth in spiritual things that he once assented to views which he is now confident were erroneous. But he cannot justly take advantage of this change of views to injure that body whose doctrines he has been solemnly set apart to teach and by whose consecrated funds he is supported—at least, while he is still in his office. There are three considerations which must be weighed most carefully by that man who has promised allegiance to a creed, and finds himself afterwards undergoing a change of belief.

1. Until his mind is fully satisfied that his previous position was wrong, he is bound in duty to his brethren as well as to himself, not to teach anything contrary to the accepted faith.

2. After he is convinced that his former views were erroneous, he cannot assail them from the vantage ground of official position in that church he has now virtually abandoned and condemned.

8. When he feels compelled to quit that communion which he voluntarily sought, and whose peace and prosperity he promised before God to study, he is under the most solemn obligations to go out in such a way as to do the least possible harm to that body he forsakes.

SOME CAUSES FOR CHANGE OF OPINION.

Under the first item it is pertinent to observe, that if a man has had a clear and full apprehension of the doctrines he embraces, if he has given them that degree of solemn thought which their acceptation demands as being the most important act which the immortal soul can perform, there is no great likelihood that he will ever, unless he makes a shipwreck of faith, depart very far from them. For if light be sought from above, if the momentous truths of religion as they are set forth in the precise language of a creed be weighed with due care, then they are accepted because they meet the true wants of the soul; and since these wants are always the same, therefore a radical change in doctrine is not reasonable. Such a change throws discredit on the whole life of a man, unless, as in the case of Paul, his eyes be opened by a miracle. Cardinal Newman was undoubtedly wrong before his great change of views, or after—most probably both! The case is entirely different when, as in the Catholic Church, the people are kept in profound ignorance of the truth of that revelation which is their professed guide. For by the trickery of a corrupt priesthood, traditions have been made to eclipse the true light of the Gospel. The changes here are really from heathenism to Christianity—there is not a change of doctrine so much as the formation, for the first time of an intelligent and responsible belief. It augurs a frivolous mind, or apostacy from the true faith, much oftener than an honest change proceeding from true enlightenment of the Spirit, when a man who has had the culture and opportunities necessary to enable him to arrive at an intelligent faith, throws away his matured convictions for something radically different.

Doubt is often highly commended as the expression of honest

independence ; but this proceeds from an erroneous view of the nature of Revelation. For as this was confessedly given by an All-wise Being, to meet the necessities of His creatures, it is adapted to its purpose completely. The consciousness of inability within is met by the assurance of help from without. The way to the aid afforded is so plain that the wayfaring man though a fool need not err therein, and he that runs may read the terms of the Gospel offer. Hence doubt does not proceed from genuine perplexity so much as from an unwillingness to endure the care necessary to arrive at clear conceptions, or refusal to submit to the truth when it crosses our inclinations. The reason is convinced but the heart is hostile. It is no mark of superior wisdom or sanctity that a man should be always uncertain about his belief ; or that he from time to time declares his former convictions were worthless !

All Christians, it is true, may have many doubts ; but the honest ones are nearly always subjective. The fear of the faithful teacher is—"lest after having preached the Gospel to others he himself become a castaway." It is the most difficult of all things for a genuine inquirer to believe that he, with all his shortcomings, can be saved. Such doubt may lead to temporary darkness, and the soul may be well nigh in despair ; but this true Christian experience is farthest removed from a hypercritical spirit, and never led any believer to question the grounds of faith as a foundation on which other men should trust. But heretical doubts arise from the desire to escape from the teachings of Revelation rather than uncertainty about what they really are. Hence, when the unstable man cuts loose from the safe moorings of a fixed faith he measures the articles of the creed by his own desires, and rejects all that will not conform to the standard. The Gospel has become too strong meat, and must be toned down to suit weak digestion. The medicine for sin is quite too bitter as it comes from the pharmacy of Revelation, and must be sugar-coated by human reason. The sick man in his delirium must be allowed to prescribe his own remedy. Or, perchance, the old-fashioned doc-

trines are too simple and must be wrapped up in a cloud of speculation. The popular minister or professor has itching ears in his charge which must be tickled, and hence he must say "some new thing" to gratify his cultivated Athenians. Such are the reasons which often influence those who prove recreant to their vows of obedience to Church dogmas, and waste the Lord's heritage by division.

DOUBTS AFTER THE ADOPTION OF A CREED.

Notwithstanding the frequent and flagrant dishonesty of those who reject a creed they once professed, let us admit the case where honest doubts do arise in the mind of a man who has promised to teach the doctrines of the Church. What is his duty as a high-toned Christian under these circumstances? Before he accepted these doctrines, and especially ere he solemnly promised to teach them, he was bound by every consideration of faithfulness to God, to the Church, and to himself, to understand what he embraced. If he gave the doctrines that attention which their importance deserves, he surely cannot lightly reject and endeavor to destroy them. If he is now convinced that he was formerly in error, this should make him still more careful lest he commit the fault over again. For the rejection of one doctrine does not disprove this, nor make its opposite true; and the previous error of judgment renders the probability much greater that the second belief will be wrong. Besides, he should rather feel humiliated at the posture in which his failure in discovering the truth formerly has placed him, than exultant at his new departure. While the process of change is going on in any church member, and especially a public teacher, he is constrained by every consideration of duty which can influence an honest mind not to teach views which are in a transition state; and not to cast doubt over the minds of others upon points about which he is not certain yet that they are erroneous. For, as his appointed duty was to teach these things and nothing else, he surely cannot reject them himself, and advise others to do the same, until he is cer-

tain of their falsity—a certainty which must be arrived at through the humiliating remembrance that these views were once accepted after an examination which called into play the best powers of his nature. But this is the time precisely when embryo heretics are most noisy. They take especial delight in unsettling the minds of others in order to awaken sympathy by their doubts. Having no safe ground on which to stand, they find congenial work in undermining all the foundations upon which earnest souls have anchored their hopes.

WHAT HONOR DEMANDS.

It is clear that no man can in honor teach views opposed to what he has vowed to maintain so long as he remains voluntarily connected with the body of which this is the creed. If he does this he is false to every trust; a traitor in the camp whose conduct is scandalous though his views were right. What, then, is he to do while in this chrysalis state? Clearly he cannot teach his present views without being traitorous to his brethren, neither can he teach his former belief without being false to himself. It may be said that this would compel a man to be silent, perhaps for a long time. This is assuredly the course he should voluntarily take, since with him rested the responsibility of settling his convictions before he entered on his work. Besides, it would be the best thing for the world that a man who does not know his own mind should preserve everlasting silence!

As he had no right in the first place to teach others until his own faith was well grounded, *a fortiori* he cannot now when it has become unsettled. For, before he united with any body of Christians his views affected only himself, because he spoke by no authority. Yet surely until he believed something he should not attempt to indoctrinate others into his crude notions. Now, the obligation is infinitely stronger for him to keep silence because of the injury he may do. For he is clothed with the authority which an official position gives him; and if from this vantage ground, he, as a traitor, assaults those who remain loyal

to the truth as they understand it, he surely has reached the lowest scale of dishonor and vileness. Silence then is the only true and honorable policy which can be adopted by that man who has become unsettled in his faith after he has accepted and vowed to teach the formularies of a Church; and this must continue as long, at least, as he remains within the pale of that denomination.

Moreover, he cannot during this period, rightfully enjoy those advantages which accrue from his official position. For if he be honored and compensated in virtue of his services in a certain line of work, when he ceases to do this, his right to reward ceases. Surely this is no more than common honesty. But what is the unvarying course of false teachers? Witness the actions of Strauss, Renan, the Newmans, Colenso—the list might be extended to our own country and to living examples—who exacted payment for a specific work after it had become notorious that they were doing their utmost for its overthrow! Yet that man who in his conscience must know that he has drifted from his former anchorage, that he is laying waste those very doctrines which he vowed to God to support, has no compunctions, has no sense of shame, to compel him to renounce his position and surrender its emoluments!

WITHDRAWAL A NECESSITY.

A conscious change of views should be followed by a voluntary withdrawal from the Church which holds them. After a man has changed his belief and become fully settled in his new doctrine, there is but one course for him to take; he must not wait for his brethren to advise or compel him to go; he must take the initiative in leaving that body whose outward badge consists in those doctrines which he has rejected. He cannot remain and teach his present views, for that would be treason. He cannot remain there in silence even, because his presence is a tacit acknowledgement of adherence to the views of his brethren. His place is outside; and as he came in voluntarily, he should go out solely of his own movement. He must not wait the

inquisition of his brethren whether he be of them or not, to determine his position, since he knows that already. For it is his business to know where he stands, and to act upon that determination—an act which he can delegate to no one besides. He came in to be benefited and to benefit in turn. He vowed to study the peace of the Church which he entered; and as that vow can now be fulfilled only by his departure, this is his clear and imperative duty.

Still more. For the sake of that peace he must go out with as little stir as possible, and with no effort to carry a following with him. For, as he took no one in but himself when he entered, and as he taught no others subsequently, if true to his vows, by advocating any other doctrines than those of this body, he can of right take none with him. If by teaching heresy to this Church he has introduced those who are hostile to its doctrines, the wrong is equally great, whether he agitates the body by taking them with him, or let them remain to vex the brethren. For this wrong might have been obviated by his silence, self-imposed, as soon as his views were known by him to diverge from the faith of the communion. But now he has wrought an injury which cannot be fully repaired; and can be palliated only by his unconditional departure. Such a necessity should cause the occasion of it the deepest mortification, and make him walk softly while leaving the house where he has repaid the hospitality enjoyed by irreparable injury. *On the contrary the audacity of the heretic and the confidence in his new departure, are increased by the number of times his former convictions have been found by himself to be false!* Indeed, would it not be a new thing under the sun for a self-appointed reformer to take such a course as has been recommended? It would seem strange, not because it is contradictory to common honesty, but because it is the opposite of that course taken by those who disturb the peace of the Church by their heretical teaching.

DISASTER THE INVARIABLE OUTCOME OF HERESY.

The essential nature of heresy can be, in every case, illustrated by its effects. For a time the martyr who has been excommunicated is the idol of a few who cling to him because of personal friendship; of those who are attracted by his learning and eloquence; or, more than all, follow him because they hate what they term uncharitable orthodoxy. But such adventurers in a short time come to nothing; and their followers, like sheep without a shepherd, are left in the wilderness. Possibly personal qualities may attach his admirers until the end of life; but when their apostle dies, as he was not commissioned of Christ he has no successors. But generally the end comes sooner. Relieved from all the salutary restraints thrown around him by associating with such as hold the truth, embittered by fancied wrongs, or puffed up by the idea of becoming a great reformer, the wandering star recedes farther and farther from the sun, until at last he is lost in the night of hopeless unbelief.

II.

SCHOLASTIC AND MYSTIC THEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

LITERATURE ON SCHOLASTICISM.

- I. *Sources*.—The works of ANSELM, ABELARD, PETER THE LOMBARD, ALBERTUS M., THOMAS AQUINAS, DUNS SCOTUS, OCCAM, BONAVENTURA, and other Schoolmen.
- II. *Works*.—DEAN D. HAMPDEN (Bishop of Hereford, d. 1868): *The Scholastic Philosophy considered in its Relation to Christian Theology*. (Bampton Lectures.) Oxford, 1832; 3rd ed., 1838.
- BARTH. HAURÉAU: *De la Philosophie scholastique*. Paris, 1850, 2 vols.
- H. KAULICH: *Geschichte der scholastischen Philosophie*. Prag, 1863.
- * C. PRANTL: *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*. Leipzig, 1861-'70, 4 vols.
- F. D. MAURICE (d. 1872): *Mediæval Philosophy*. London, 1870.
- * ALBERT STÖCKL (Rom. Cath. Prof. of Philosophy at Münster): *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Mainz, 1864-'66, 3 vols. The first volume covers the beginning of Scholasticism (Isidor of Seville, Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Gottschalk, Scotus Erigena, Anselm, Abelard, Gilbert de la Porrée, Bernard of Clairvaux, the two Victor, Peter the Lombard, John of Salisbury); the second, the period of its supremacy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the third, the period of opposition and decline down to Jesuitism and Jansenism. Strongly anti-Protestant.
- * H. REUTER (Prof. of Church History in Göttingen, d. 1889): *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter*. Berlin, 1875-'77, 2 vols. Important for the skeptical and rationalistic tendencies of the Middle Ages.
- * TH. HARPER: *The Metaphysics of the School*. London, 1880 sq.
- KARL WERNER (Rom. Cath.): *Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters*. Wien, 1881-'87, 4 vols. (Vol. I., on Duns Scotus; II., the post-Scotist Scholasticism; III. and IV., the Last Stages of Scholasticism.)
- F. L. HETTINGER (R. Cath.): *De Theologiæ speculative ac mysticæ consuebio*. Würzburg, 1882.
- FR. EHRLE (S. J.): *Beiträge zur Gesch. der mittelalterlichen Scholastik*, in "Archiv für Lit.—und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters," Bd. I. 365 sqq. (1885), and Bd. V. 603 sqq. (1889).
- III. The relevant chapters in the Doctrine Histories of NEANDER, GIESELER

BAUR, HAGENBACH, THOMASIVS, HARNACK, and those of Roman Catholic divines, BACH (*Dogmengesch. des Mittelalters*, 1873-'75, 2 vols.) and SCHWANE (*Dogmengesch. der mittleren Zeit*, 1882). FRIEDRICH NITZSCH: Art. "Scholastische Theol." in Herzog.² XIII. 650-675.

IV. The Histories of Philosophy by H. RITTER, UEBERWEG (who gives also the literature, 7th ed. by Heinze, 1883; see English translation by Morris I. 355 sqq.), and ERDMANN (Hough's Engl. trsl., London, 1890, Vol. I. 287-543).

NATURE AND AIM OF SCHOLASTICISM.

SCHOLASTICISM, that is the theology of the School, is the ruling theology of the Middle Ages, and retains in modified form its ascendancy in the Roman Church.¹ The ancient Church produced Fathers; the mediæval Church, Doctors or Teachers; the modern Church, Reformers. The Fathers worked in the quarries of the Scriptures, and brought out the dogmas, one by one, in conflict with heresy. The Schoolmen collected, analyzed and systematized the dogmas, and proved their reasonableness against the skeptical objections of reason. The Fathers furnished the material; the Schoolmen constructed the building.

Every religion that has a theology at all has also a scholastic theology. A period of creation is followed by a period of preservation. Judaism produced rabbinical and talmudic theology; Catholicism has its mediæval scholasticism; Protestantism has a Lutheran and a Calvinistic scholasticism. The first is based on the Mosaic law and the tradition of the Elders; the second, on the Bible and the Fathers; the third, on the Bible and the Reformers. All these forms of scholasticism are attempts to formulate and define by logic and to comprehend by the understanding the facts of revelation and the tenets of faith. New ideas are systematized, analyzed, defined, fenced in, and defended against objections.

In this logical and dialectical process they lose their original freshness and freedom. The living body of divinity, the *corpus doctrinæ*, becomes at last a corpse of divinity, and is buried.

¹ Pope Leo XIII., in an Encyclical of Aug. 4, 1879, earnestly recommended the study of the philosophy and theology of St. Thomas Aquinas, as the standard of Catholic orthodoxy.

But this is not necessary. The greatest Schoolmen, as Anselm and Thomas, were conscious of the inexhaustible depth of divine truth, which transcends the powers of logic. They combined, like Augustin, a mystic element with the scholastic, meditation and prayer with speculation, and their discussions are heated by the sacred fire of devotion. Hence they still live and will live to the end of time.

Mediæval Scholasticism made noble efforts to reconcile revelation and reason, faith and philosophy. Anselm gave a few splendid specimens, proving the existence of God and the necessity of the incarnation. Peter the Lombard and his commentators covered the whole ground and worked all the dogmas into a coherent system of knowledge illuminating every nook and corner, and answering every question concerning the mysteries of faith. They started from the Augustinian principle that "faith precedes knowledge."¹ They quoted, as a biblical proof-text, Isa. 7: 9: "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."² With this they connected the other principle, that faith necessarily leads to knowledge. Abelard reversed the order, and made knowledge precede faith; but he arrived at the same result. Revelation and reason, faith and knowledge, theology and philosophy, agree in principle and conclusion; for they proceed from the same God who cannot contradict Himself. Scotus Erigena had anticipated this position in the ninth century, and speculative theologians and Christian philosophers of modern times accept it.

But there are different conceptions of faith and of philosophy. The scholastic divines stood on the ground of the traditional faith of the Fathers and the Councils. In the firm conviction of the truth and reasonableness of the orthodox faith,

¹ "*Fides præcedit intellectum*," or as Anselm expressed it: "*Credo ut intelligam, non intelligo ut credam*."

² According to the rendering of the Vulgate: "*Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis*." The proper translation is: "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established," or, to come nearer to the Hebrew assonance: "Be firm in faith, or ye will not be made firm in fact."

they ventured on the boldest speculations, raised and answered all sorts of doubts which formerly were urged by heretics from without, and ran every dogma through a fiery ordeal to show its invulnerable nature. They were the knights of theology who fought with the weapons of logic and dialectics all the real and imaginary enemies of the Church. As there were Godfreys and Tancreds, so there were also Don Quixotes and Sancho Panzas among the knights of the scholastic tournaments.

The scholastic systems furnish a parallel to the contemporary papal hierarchy and Gothic architecture. The papacy subjected all temporal kingdoms to its divine authority; architecture made all arts tributary to worship; scholastic theology ruled philosophy as a mere handmaid, and used all available knowledge for the vindication of the orthodox faith. We must admire those lofty cathedrals of thought, which rise higher and higher till they seem to float in the air, and which reflect through their painted windows the sublime mysteries of religion. They solved the highest problems of speculation to the satisfaction of their age.

DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOLASTICISM.

Scholastic theology began with Anselm, reached its height in Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and began to decline with Occam, and died of old age before the Reformation. One of its last representatives was Cardinal Cajetan, the commentator of Thomas Aquinas, who as papal delegate met Luther at Augsburg in 1518, and, after vainly disputing with him, said of the German monk: "*Habet profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo.*"

Scholasticism achieved its greatest work in the thirteenth century, but degenerated during the fourteenth into barren formalism, and lost itself in the labyrinth of empty speculations. By analyzing, dividing, sub-dividing the articles of faith, those subtle dialecticians squeezed the very life out of them. Instead of studying the Bible and discussing topics of practical importance, they busied themselves with such idle

questions of curiosity as, how many angels could dance at the same instant on the point of a needle; or, what possible effect the sacrament of the altar may have upon a mouse. Some answered that the consecrated elements would sanctify the mouse; others, that they would kill it; still others, more wisely because less foolishly, that they would have no effect at all, since they could be partaken of only by an animal *accidentaliter*, not *sacramentaliter*.

The papacy lost its power by its towering ambition; the crusades failed in gaining the permanent possession of the Holy Land; the noblest Gothic cathedrals remained unfinished; Scholasticism, by the abuse of speculation, dug its own grave, and was conquered by biblical theology. The mediæval knight disappeared with the invention of gunpowder; the scholastic philosopher, with the discoveries of science and the progress of free thought.

Scholasticism cultivated only dogmatic and ethic, theology and the canon law. It made no original contributions to exegesis and church history. The Bible was constantly used, indeed, but chiefly as a repository of proof texts with the help of the *Catenæ Patrum*, or compilations of patristic comments. Church history was identified with the authoritative tradition of the Church, which included such fables as the Donation of Constantine and such forgeries as the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

THE SOURCES OF SCHOLASTICISM. AUGUSTIN AND ARISTOTLE

The fathers and feeders of mediæval Scholasticism were St. Augustin and Aristotle. The former furnished the matter; the latter, the form. The religious ideas of the African divine were fortified by the logical and dialectical method of the Greek philosopher. The decrees and canons of Synods and the *Decretum* of Gratian were also used as authorities in addition to the sentences of the Fathers.

Augustin was, next to the inspired writers, the greatest theological authority both for Schoolmen and Mystics, as afterwards for the Reformers of the sixteenth century. He has been

called "the oracle of thirteen centuries." He impressed his mind upon every page in the history of Christian thought. But it was mainly the Catholic, churchly, sacramentarian, anti-Manichæan and anti-Donatist Augustin who ruled the Middle Ages; while the evangelical or anti-Pelagian Augustin was not properly appreciated before Luther and Calvin, who adopted and reproduced his doctrines of sin and grace. How strange that the same mighty intellect who helped to rear the imposing structure of Scholasticism should have aided the Reformers in pulling it down!

The heathen Aristotle was the greatest philosophical authority of the Schoolmen. He was, in the estimation of the Middle Ages, the master-thinker, as Virgil was the master-poet. As the noblest of the heathen, both were mercifully assigned a place in the outer court of the Church. Dante consistently excludes them from Paradise and Purgatory, and places them in the vestibule of the Inferno, but without actual suffering, and Virgil accompanies him to the very threshold of Paradise. The Schoolmen revered Aristotle as a Moses or John the Baptist in the intellectual field, as a forerunner of the truth which came with Christ. His logical formulas or scheme of reasoning, his dialectical acuteness, the fertility and general applicability of his method seemed to them to be the only or the surest way to the knowledge and defense of the truth.

Aristotle's Greek writings were not accessible to Christian Europe till after the downfall of Constantinople, and, with the exception of John Scotus Erigena, the Schoolmen were almost wholly ignorant of Greek. He was known, however, from extracts by Cassiodorus and Boëthius (d. 524), and from Latin translations of Arabic versions and commentaries of Moham-medan scholars in Asia (Bagdad) and Spain (Cordova), as Avicenna (930-1036), Ghazali or Algazel (1059-1111), Averrhoës (1126-1198). The Spanish Jews also cultivated the study of Aristotle and of the Neo-Platonists, and influenced Christian scholasticism, especially Moses Maimonides (1135-1204).¹

¹ On the Moslem and Jewish philosophers, see Ueberweg, I. 402-428.

At first the study of Aristotle was looked upon with suspicion, and was even temporarily prohibited by popes and synods, as breeding heresy and intellectual pride. Simon de Tourney, a zealous champion of Aristotelian philosophy, was misled by conceit into blasphemy, and became dumb and childish.¹ But from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the greatest Schoolmen made use of the Stagirite for the defense of the doctrines of the Church, his authority continued unabated to the period of the Reformation, when for a time it was shaken to its base.

Luther denounced in unmeasured terms "the damned heathen Aristotle," as he called him in a fit of wrath against the degenerate Schoolmen of his day. Melanchthon, with all his superior knowledge and admiration of Greek literature, at first banished philosophy altogether from Christian theology. But in his maturer writings, especially in his *Ethic*, he availed himself of the aid of Aristotelian and scholastic logic and dialectic. Luther himself, in defending his ubiquitarian theory of the Eucharist, resorted to the scholastic distinctions of various kinds of presence; and the Lutheran and Calvinistic divines of the seventeenth century reduce the doctrines of the Reformation to a scholastic system.

NOMINALISM AND REALISM.

F. EXNER: *Ueber Nominalismus und Realismus*. Prague, 1842.

H. O. KÖHLER: *Realismus und Nominalismus in ihrem Einfluss auf die dogmatischen Systeme des Mittelalters*. Gotha, 1858.

HERMANN DOERGERS: *Zur Lehre von den Universalien*. Heidelberg, 1867.

PRANTL: *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*. Vol. II. Leipzig, 3rd ed., 1867.

J. H. LÖWE: *Der Kampf zwischen dem Realismus und Nominalismus im Mittelalter*. Prague, 1876.

Comp. NEANDER, IV. 859 sqq. (Am. ed.); ULLMANN: *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*, II. 327 sqq.; UEBERWEG: *History of Philosophy*, I. 367-377

¹ After a brilliant defense of the dogma of the Trinity, he said: "*O Jesule, Jesule, quantum in hac questione confirmavi legem tuam et exaltavi. Profecto si malignando et adversando vellem, fortioribus rationibus et argumentis scirem illam infirmare et deprimendo improbare.*"

(transl. of Morris); and an appendix to *Bain's Mental and Moral Science* (London, 1868).

At the root of all scholastic speculations lay the problem of the relation between subjective thought and objective existence, between the conception of a thing and the thing itself. More particularly, it was the question concerning the nature of the general or generic conceptions, called *universalia*, such as man, animal, tree, in distinction from particular men, animals, trees.¹

On this question the Schoolmen were divided into two contending camps,—REALISTS and NOMINALISTS.

The Realists taught that the *universalia* exist really or in fact as well as in the mind. They were subdivided into two classes: the Platonic Realists contended that the *universalia* are *ante rem*, that is, the creative types of individual things in the divine mind; the Aristotelian Realists held that the *universalia* are *in re*, that is, the general substance of particular existences. Socrates is a man, partaking of the general human nature, and is at the same time an individual, distinct from all other men. The second kind of realism is also called *formalism*, as it conceives of the ideas as the primitive forms (*formæ nativæ*) of things.²

The Nominalists maintained that the general conceptions have no objective existence and are mere names (*nomina, flatus vocis*), or abstractions from concrete, individual beings and things (*universalia post rem*). Some, however, allowed them an ideal and necessary subjective existence in the mind.

¹ Sometimes the term *universalia* was applied to the five general conceptions of the Aristotelian logic, the so-called *prædicabilia*, γένος, εἶδος, διαφορά, ἴδιον, συμβεβηκός, or *genus, species, differentia, proprium, accidens*. The controversy seems to have started in a passage from the *Isagoge* of Porphyry, known to the contestants only in the translations of Boëthius. Porphyry raises the question whether the *universalia* are realities, or mere words, but declines to enter into a discussion.

² Roger Bacon, in the thirteenth century (*Opus majus*, P. I., c. 6, f. 28), states the different theories thus: "*Aliqui ponunt ea (universalia) solum in anima, aliqui extra, aliqui medio modo.*"

The philosophical controversy assumed practical importance when it was applied to theology, especially to the doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and to the doctrine of original sin.

Realism was the prevailing theory till the close of the eleventh century, when Roscellin, a canon at Compiègne,¹ and founder of a school of dialectics, proclaimed the theory of Nominalism in its extreme form. From a letter of Abelard, a pupil though not a disciple, of Roscellin, to the Bishop of Paris, we learn that he even denied the reality of the distinction of parts in an object, declaring them to be merely subjective and verbal. In his application of the nominalist principle to the dogma of the Trinity, he could not avoid falling into open tritheism. Regarding the idea of Deity (divine nature, divine essence), like all general conceptions, as a mere abstraction of the understanding, he ascribed objective existence only to the three Persons, and made them three beings equal in will and power, like three angels or three men.² If the general divine essence were a real existence, it would follow that not only the Son, but the Father and the Holy Spirit also became incarnate. Nominalism could not admit two natures in Christ without dividing Him into two persons. It was opposed to the Augustinian theory of a race-sin in Adam's fall, and of a race redemption, distinct from individual redemption. But these consequences were not all drawn.

In opposition to the tritheistic Nominalism of Roscellin, Anselm of Canterbury defended Realism and the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.³ He charged against Roscellin, that he could not rise above the sensual and empirical; that he made all true knowledge impossible, and had no room for an incarnation or a union of the divine nature with the human nature, since he acknowledged only divine and human persons.

The tritheism of Roscellin was condemned by a Council of

¹ Roscellinus, also Rucelinus de Compendio.

² "*Tres res per se, sicut tres angeli aut tres animæ.*"

³ *De Fide Trinitatis et de Incarnatione Verbi contra blasphemias Rucelini* (written 1094).

Soissons under the lead of the Archbishop of Rheims (1093). He retired from public sight.

This action was fatal to Nominalism for a long time. Realism in its various forms prevailed down to the fourteenth century. Anselm represented the Platonic realism of the *universalia ante rem*; Duns Scotus and the later Realists adopted the Aristotelian theory of the *universalia in re*.

Nominalism was revived by William Occam (d. 1347) in concealed connection with a skeptical and Protestant turn of mind. Occam, called the *venerabilis inceptor*, taught that the *universale* or generic idea is nothing real, either in or outside of the mind, but has only an imaginary existence. He sided with Louis of Bavaria against the Pope, and opposed various abuses in the Church. He professed, it is true, absolute submission to the orthodox creed, but so repeatedly and emphatically, that his sincerity has been questioned; he may have done so to enforce his opposition to the hierarchy.

Repeated attempts were made to put down Nominalism, as a dangerous innovation, and Louis XI. even threatened the Nominalists with perpetual banishment, but in vain; he had to recall his edict (1481). Nominalism was embraced by the Schoolmen of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, D'Ailly, Gerson, Buridanus, Marsilius of Inghen, by the forerunners of the Reformation (with the exception of Wiclif, Hus and Jerome of Prague, who were Realists), and by the Reformers themselves, as far as they took part in scholastic questions.

The prevalence of Nominalism was one of the silent forces which encouraged criticism and innovation, and undermined faith in the traditional orthodoxy and in scholasticism itself, as a philosophic defense of the catholic faith. It indirectly promoted also empirical and natural sciences by laying stress on experience as a foundation of knowledge.

Under this aspect Alexander von Humboldt assigns to Nominalism a place in the development of physical science. But he speaks highly also of earlier Schoolmen, especially Albert the Great and Roger Bacon, who comprehended all the learning

of the thirteenth century and had a deep insight into some mysteries of nature. The study of Aristotelian philosophy promoted the empirical study of nature, as may be seen from the Arabic scholars of the Middle Ages. Humboldt connects even the discovery of America with the scholastic speculations of the thirteenth century.¹

MYSTICISM AND SCHOLASTICISM.

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Mysticism or mystic theology aims at a direct communion with the infinite Spirit. It closes the outward eye, and seeks to see God with the inward eye and to enjoy Him face to face. Religion is based upon mystery, and God is the mystery of mysteries which transcends all thought, and yet unceasingly attracts the deepest thought. Hence almost every religion, the Jewish and Mohammedan as well as the Christian, has its mysticism. The Greek, the Latin, and the Protestant Churches have produced several schools of mystics,—sound and morbid, sober and extravagant, orthodox and heretical, churchly and separatistic. A distinction is sometimes made between mystic and mysticism, as also between scholastic and scholasticism.

Scholasticism and Mysticism are two different tendencies, which supplement or antagonize each other. As long as they keep within the limits of revealed truth, the difference between them is merely psychological. Paul and John represent the two distinct types in friendly relationship, and furnish inspiration to both schools of theology. The deepest thinkers approach each other on both lines. Augustin, Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, had a mystic vein. Every Christian is a mystic as far as he bends reverently before the divine mysteries and longs for immediate union with God and Christ.

Scholastic theology may be called the theology of the intellect; mystic theology, the theology of feeling. The former proceeds from the head; the latter, from the heart. The one is logical and speculative; the other is contemplative and emotional. The Schoolman endeavors to attain the conception of God and divine things by reflection and the process of reasoning; the Mystic, by direct intuition and adoration. The one tends easily, though not necessarily, to rationalism; the other,

to pantheism.¹ The mystic divine shrinks from cold, dialectic speculation, deeming it to be a profanation of what is holy. Overleaping the boundaries of patient research, he hopes to grasp and enjoy the infinite by love and by prayer. God, says St. Bernard, is more easily and worthily sought and found by prayer than by disputation. God is known, says Hugo of St. Victor, so far only as He is loved. His disciple, Walter of St. Victor, calls Abelard, Peter the Lombard, Gilbert and Peter of Poitiers the four labyrinths of France, and protested that, under the inspiration of Aristotle, they had treated the ineffable mysteries of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation with scholastic levity. Dante puts a very high estimate on Thomas Aquinas as the master of scholastic theology, but places St. Bernard still higher, and is led by him through prayer to the beatific vision of the Holy Trinity, with which his "sacred poem" closes.

The mystic as well as the scholastic theologians appealed to St. Augustin, who combined the two; but in philosophy they parted entirely. As Scholasticism was wedded to Aristotle, Mysticism took for its guide Dionysius the Areopagite, a Christian Neo-Platonist of the fifth century, whose mystic writings were translated from the Greek by Scotus Erigena in the ninth century, and exerted a great influence throughout the Middle Ages upon scholastics as well as mystics, especially on Thomas Aquinas.²

¹ The tendency of scholasticism toward rationalism is very manifest in Abelard; but other speculative philosophers, like Scotus, Erigena, Spinoza, and Hegel were pantheists. The tendency of mysticism to pantheistic intoxication and absorption in the ocean of divine love shows itself in various forms in Master Eckard, Jacob Boehme, and is most daringly expressed by the famous hymnist, Scheffler,—popularly called Angelus Silesius (first a Lutheran, then a Jesuit, d. 1677), in his "*Cherubinische Wandersmann*," where he has the audacity to say:

*"Gott ist so viel an mir, als mir an Ihm gelegen,
Sein Wesen helf ich Ihm, wie Er das meine, hegen."*

² See Schaff's *Church History*, IV., § 137, pp. 589–901. Corderius asserts that the "Angelic Doctor [Thomas Aquinas] drew almost the whole of his

The greatest scholastics had, as already remarked, combined the two tendencies, like Augustin. In Abelard and St. Bernard, scholasticism and mysticism came into violent conflict; then they united again, or developed independently. When Scholasticism degenerated into barren speculation, Mysticism defended the inwardness and spirituality of religion, and prepared the way for the moral reformation of the Church.

There are different kinds and schools of Mysticism. Speculative mysticism or theosophy aims at the knowledge of the being of God. Emotional mysticism desires to enjoy the loveliness of God. Practical mysticism seeks a union with the will of God and the imitation of the life of Christ by conforming to His example. The last is the most useful, and is best represented by Tauler and Thomas à Kempis. All these forms may be churchly and orthodox, or unchurchly and heretical. "The Imitation of Christ" by Thomas à Kempis remains to this day the noblest monument of the sound, practical and devotional type of mediæval Mysticism.

theology out of the pseudo-Dionysian books, so that his *Summa* is but the hive in whose varied cells he duly stored the honey which he gathered from them." See Migne's ed. of Dionysius, I. 96.

III.

LAY WORK AND HOW TO SECURE IT.

BY REV. C. CLEVER, D.D.

EVERY thing conduces to make us realize, that the time has fully come, when every individual energy of Christendom must be girded for the battle that is upon us. The serious earnestness, of the practical and philosophical unbelief of these latter times, will not be laughed out of court. It must be met at all points by a counter earnestness on the part of the church, embodied in fiery activity in the service of God and man. Sons of men and sons of God, who count not life itself dear to win men for Christ, must be found upon every highway and along every hedge, if the broken fragments of society will crystalize around the cross of Christ. Only apostolic consecration and fair dealing with all, will give us any hope of success. At it all the time and with all the might will go far towards dislodging the enemy; but the rout will only be perfect when all are at it.

For the Son of man is as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work. Mark 13: 34. The kingdom of heaven, again, is as a man travelling into a far country who gave to every man according to his several ability. Matthew 25: 15. Thus the King over all, whose right it is to rule all and receive service from all, left out of the fullness of His love, something for all His people to do. The sepulchres of divine human possibilities have had laid upon them great stones. It is for His people to roll them away, that the omnific power of Christ's resurgent glory shall be manifested, in regenerated

societies, which, being raised by Him, will come no more under the blasting power of greed and sin and selfishness. It can not be emphasized too frequently or too earnestly, that all the servants in the Kingdom were appointed to work. It was more than an apostolic recreation that prompted Paul to say to the Corinthians, "To one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues; but all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit dividing to every man severally as He will."


The Church to His practiced eye is a bee hive of Christian activity where every man, woman and child has the widest opportunity for the eminent exercise of all the gifts of body, soul and spirit, sanctified by the Holy Ghost. Preachers and doctors, teachers and students, watchmen and laborers are all enlisted under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, for the perfecting of the saints and the building up of the body of Christ.

In all this wide range of Christian activity, there will be differences of administration. But these differences dare not pre-empt any sphere, in such a way, as to close it against any who are capable of glorifying God, in the use of the capabilities with which He has providentially endowed them. In the family life, completion is only attained, when the humblest has brought his contribution of sympathy and helpfulness to make up the store-house of its glory. In like manner, in the royal family, whose head is in heaven, and who has knit all the members into one mystical union with Himself. It is being felt, on every hand, that there is a large portion of the Christian family which has not contributed its full share to the edifying of the body of Christ. In the possibilities of our lay activity, there is a sleeping giant, who can be awakened and who when

once girded with strength can steady a tottering ark, and prevent a temple from heedless desecration.

As soon as ever there is given an opportunity for laymen to render unhindered service, it is embraced with an alacrity that surprises the most expectant. Christian Endeavorers, Brotherhoods and Guilds, when properly started, find men following with a heroism and self sacrifice, surpassing the avidity with which the monastics of the middle ages gave up all for a religious seclusion. The Church has lost power, simply because it has not provided ways, by which this surplus of consecrated energy might find room for its exercise, within its sacred borders. A false conservatism has always looked askance upon anything that interfered with the prosy step, by which the journey thus far has been accomplished.

In order to arouse properly this strong right arm of the Church, and give it full sweep for its consecrated energy, there must be a less marked separation between the clergy and the people. The universal priesthood of believers, properly emphasized, will lift the people into a light and devotion corresponding at well nigh all points with the clergy. That there will be necessarily a difference is felt and acknowledged on every hand. It is the violent emphasis of this separation which has wrought such unbounded mischief. The layman has been forced into an awkward position, where neither life nor activity is expected of him. There is no reasonable ground for this remnant of medieval ecclesiasticism. Continuance of this separation under the false form given to it, when the priesthood of the ministry was so onesided as to crush every other feature of Christian activity, will demand a new reformation. The inseparable barrier between these two great factors of Christian life, has no foundation in reason, common sense or history. It was when Popery arose rampant and the sacredness of holy orders became a phantom that wooed the Church away from those lines, undoubtedly traced by the finger of its great Head, upon the horizon of human history, that the clergy and laity became placed in such false antagonism to each other so far as church work was concerned.



In the Apostolic Church, when the fresh buoyancy of youth was everywhere felt, there was theoretical and practical parity of all believers. They that were scattered abroad, when the first martyr seed of the Church was being sown with a wide opened hand, went everywhere preaching the word. The majority if not all of these were laymen. They did not wait even for directions from the Apostles, but moved by the Holy Ghost published abroad the words of eternal life. "It is impossible to trace a clear line of demarkation between the gift of prophecy and that of teaching. The latter, like the former, belonged to the Church without distinction of clergy. It remains an established fact that all believers had the right to teach in public worship."* Paul before he received the laying on of hands, for the full and formal consecration of his life to the ministry of the word, preached boldly at Damascus in the name of the Lord Jesus and disputed against the Grecian Jews. Aquila and Priscilla expounded unto Apollos the way of God more perfectly. There is abundant evidence, on every page of Apostolic history, that the prophetic element of clerical life was as readily acknowledged and exercised as the common duties of the religious life. It was commensurate with the universal priesthood of believers. The good sense of Apostolic Christianity, when it determined to turn the worship upside down, did not make such a fatal blunder, as to consign ninety-nine one hundredths of that fiery energy, born of the Pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit, to a listless inactivity. The Holy Ghost, finding willing hearts and ready hands, sent them forth on errands of mercy and grace. Investigations, from every historical standpoint, prove that the function of teaching and preaching were exercised by all who had the natural ability for this very especial function. According to the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, the liberty of prophesying was unhindered. This liberty did not, like the special charisms of the first age of Christianity disappear, but remain as a permanent right in subsequent ages.†

* Pressense's Apostolic Era, page 344.

† Hatch's Bampton Lectures, page 114.

In like manner the priestly functions of the ministry were to a large extent exercised by the believers as a body. There is no sacerdotalism in the New Testament. "The sacerdotal functions and privileges, which alone are mentioned in the apostolic writings, pertain to all believers alike and do not refer solely or specially to the ministerial office."* There is an absence of any appeal to sacerdotal claims in the Pastoral Epistles. The silence of the Apostolic fathers deserves to be mentioned.† In the early ages, teaching and baptism were joined together as now, and were performed by all. "It was at the beginning permitted to all to preach the gospel and to baptize and to explain the scriptures in the Church."‡ From ancient documents, and from the regulations required in the earlier councils, it is manifest that the whole round of Christian work was open to all, who possessed a natural fitness for it. Christians were to teach and preach and baptize. It was when such a state of affairs prevailed that a robust faith shows itself everywhere. Martyrs are as plentiful as the leaves of the Valambrosa. The great doctrines, which are the very foundation stones of our common Christianity are contended for with highpriestly solemnity.

When worldliness begins to creep into the Church, and gold flows into its coffers instead of blood into the arena—when the clergy begins to assume functions never designed to be exclusively their own, and the laity in consequence with all its splendid possibilities is forced into the background, we have sacerdotalism with its attendant decay and death. Well nigh all heroic defence of the faith, and burning desire for the conversion of the world to Christ died. The right of the laity to a voice in the government was never doubted in apostolic times. "In the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem the entire church participated. But with the rise of sacerdotalism the laity declined

* Lightfoot's Commentary on Philippians. Special Essay on the Christian Ministry, page 244.

† By the same, page 249.

‡ Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, page 913.

in power, until they were entirely ignored in the Church. Indeed the Council of Trent anathematizes the scripture idea of the priesthood of all believers." *

The Reformation began to enlist this long unused power. With the new life of faith that began to stir everywhere, there sprang up a new life of works. The Liberty of the Christian Man, of the sturdy Saxon Reformer, was the magna charta of laymen. It was evident to the most careless observer, that the layman had already been instant in season and out of season, and even though seriously hampered had already done much towards giving energy and direction to pre-reformation history. Humanism, that John the Baptist of the Reformation, demonstrated what a hearty alliance of laity and clergy might perform, in bringing about the new era of human history, which must break upon the world, if judgment day must not come at once. It was Reuchlin, a humanist and a layman, who vindicated the claims of science against the barbarous teaching of the times. "Ulrich von Hütten, who could fight for truth if he had not felt its power, flung down the gauge of battle, with all the knightly pride of chivalry. Erasmus, the clear-headed and brilliant coward, lampooned monks and doctors, until cardinals, and even the pope himself joined in the common laughter of the world." Melancthon, Calvin and a whole army of lesser lights proved to the world, what laymen when consecrated might do for the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ. John Wesley gave a great impetus towards restoring the Apostolic precedent of lay preaching. "The wonderful movement he inaugurated would have completely failed had he trusted entirely to an ordained ministry. But he wisely allowed great liberty to all, who were piously inclined and gifted in speech, and the consequence was that Methodism marvellously spread." Schaff-Herzog, page 1289. This middle wall of partition however has not been completely broken down. In life and activity, theoretically and practically, the layman is not expected to size

* Schaff-Herzog, vol. 2, page 1289.

up to the ministry. His associations and pleasures are not required by public sentiment to move along the same plain with that of his fellow laborers and Christian brothers. In trying to hold ourselves as ministers in such an abnormal position, we have put ourselves out of touch with the lay element in the Church. Sydney Smith had some ground for saying that the human race was divided into three classes, men, women and preachers. The masses have gotten away from us, and those who still hold to the Church do not feel themselves called upon to abound in the work of the Lord. They do not live on that high plane which successful leadership would imperiously require. Let it be understood that God requires a layman to live as holy and unblamably as a minister, and a rose would as easily be unfragrant as for that man to be inactive. May the day be at hand when this last vestige of mediæval ecclesiasticism will vanish away, and a new era of Church history be ushered in, by the adoption of the apostolic method, sanctioned by the success that has always attended its adoption, simply modified to suit the new times in which it has become an active element in Church life.

It is necessary for the Church to get a larger conception of its mission in the world. The spirit of monasticism fostered and fashioned an ideal for the Church, which has not been broad enough. It has about it the gloomy shade and musty smell of the cloister. It is only within the last fifty years that history has been properly written. It has dawned upon the historic muse at last, that nations, hitherto consigned to the limbo of nothingness, have been seething with divine human possibilities. It has not yet dawned upon the Church, that there is a wide range of social and political and artistic life, that can be and must be permeated by the Spirit of God. If the object of the Church be simply to give a good dose of gospel truth on Sunday, and to require the pastor to bring a solemn gloom into the household once or twice a year by making a pastoral visit, there is no need of lay activity. But if "Christians should be interested in and should foster all that is excellent in science or art or political life as that which is their proper business," then

the horizon has widened far beyond the widest vision of the best monasticism that ever lived or moved or had its being upon the earth. It is unfortunate that the name Church has been associated with the idea of worship, instruction and beneficence, only. The first two features of its life have been relegated to the clergy, and the latter has been fulfilled in the same spirit, with which the disciples wished to have the Saviour send the Syro-phœnician woman away because she was crying after them.

The Church must find her inheritance. She has sought her life thus far without enlisting all her energies, and without entering into the new fields opened up before her on every side. She must count nothing foreign to her that is human. What a glorious day will dawn, "when Christians find out that their main business is to promote truth in all departments of human knowledge, and love in all the relations of human life; and that they have a concern also in all that beautifies and refines human existence, and that all the energy of their faith in God and in Christ is needed to sustain the progress of mankind, they will find out also that the ground of their discord recedes into its natural littleness, and that the faith by which they all are actuated is a great moral power as to the possession and use of which there is no controversy. That which is needed and for lack of which Christianity languishes is a wider outlook, a determination to look the world in the face without misgiving or mistrust, to spiritualize and harmonize, to foster and to inspire the various spheres and interests which the Providence of God opens to the men of our day."* Lacking this comprehensive view of the mission of the Church in the earth, there is no call for all men to lend a helping hand. There is no effort to make Christianity a power on the exchange, in the bank, and at the counter. Selfishness and greed run riot among men, who otherwise might be stars in the right hand of Him who walketh in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks. A Senator shocked the whole country by asserting that politics and the ten commandments had parted company, and yet he simply gave utter-

* Freemantle's Gospel of the Secular Life, page 9.

ance to a popular sentiment which if the Church has not practically taught, it has winked at when prevailing in the lives of a respectable portion of its communicants. He asserted a principle that governs three-fourths of the political activity of a country that professedly believes that the powers that be are ordained of God. The Church has settled down to such a low estate as to admit that the decisive and directing control of men's consciences among the greater part of human life, does not come within the range of its influence. Men driven to despair are trying to make the great secular influences form new religions. "Christianity becomes a small affair in the presence of other objects of absorbing interests instead of being the supreme spiritual influence which elevates and harmonizes all the spheres of human life." The results of this false conception, or I should rather say this limited conception of the wide range of human activities which are crying for and must have the sanctifying influences of Christianity, are too awful to contemplate. The minister has lost his power. The word that is in his hand is not a double-edged sword, that smites to the ground the unholy hand that is stretched forth to touch the ark of God, in which the covenant of divine fatherhood and human brotherhood is sacredly kept. He is no longer a prophet, who reasons of temperance and of righteousness and of judgment to come till the principalities of wickedness tremble. He does not awe Kings and violators of the divine law, till a fear of vengeance drives them to the foot of the humble Nazarene, begging for mercy and peace. He does not shake the thrones of wickedness and bid defiance to armies led on by a godless ambition. The laymen of the Church are not convinced that it is possible to execute the command of God—Whatever ye do, do all to the glory of God. Christ undoubtedly looked forward to a time when every sphere of business, social, political and artistic activity should be brought into subjection unto Himself. He must reign till he hath put all things under His feet. When this is once recognized as the range of the church's activity, the ministry will not be required to do all

the work. It will be seen at once that a layman has not fulfilled the duties of the Christian life when he has simply given a respectful hearing to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. It is the minister's sin before God if a sound Gospel is not preached, but it is the layman's sin before God, if this Gospel does not permeate all the relations of human life. The layman is called of God to this service, as surely as the prophets and apostles of the olden times; and before God is ordained to this solemn and sacred work, as much as any minister who proclaims the truths of the Gospel. If the Church but once caught a glimpse of the glorious inheritance which God has provided for her, she would hasten to go up into it and could give herself no rest till all her spiritual children went up also with her. The ministry is blamed, but it could not do all the work of the Church. When the laity will have laid upon its conscience, the solemn, divine and heaven sent obligations it is under to make effective the redemption purchased for the world by the death of Christ, the energy of the Church now expended in pushing men into work will be required to steady the energies which are being hurried forward by an untempered enthusiasm. To you and to me my lay brother "is committed in these anxious days, that which is at once an awful responsibility and a splendid destiny, to transform this modern world into a Christian society, to change the socialism which is based on the assumption of clashing interests, into the social issue which is based on the sense of spiritual union, and to gather together the scattered forces of a divided Christendom into a confederation in which organization will be of less account than fellowship with one Spirit and faith in one Lord—with a communion wide as human life and deep as human need—into a church which shall outshine even the golden glory of its dawn by the splendor of its eternal noon." *

It is for the Church to throw open the blinds and let the Light of Life shine upon the great problems of human destiny; to hold them up with such serious earnestness, that their

* Hatch, Bampton Lectures, page 216.

realization will challenge all the consecrated energy of the lay element within its borders. The triumphs of Christianity, when it has been made co-extensive with all the demands of national and social life, will prove an inviting field for all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth. In all the relationships of human life lay activity was never a more potent factor than now. In olden times one who could be a king was a rarity, now they have grown in almost endless profusion. It is for this same increasing power to be enlisted in the Church in order that by concentration, combination and co-operation, the scattered fragments of human life may coalesce into one grand mosaic of love around the cross of Christ. It was the proclamation of this catholic view of the mission of Christianity in the world that made Phillips Brooks a man of the people and for the people. They forgot that he was a preacher, and when hearing or reading his utterances, they felt themselves in the spiritual grasp of a well-rounded Christian man. His denomination could not claim him. Even this broad land was not big enough for the sweep of his energy. It will be the actualization of these same truths, in the lives and works of the followers of Christ, that will make all men know that Jesus is the life and the light of the world. "The special religious need of the present age is the release of religious truth from its bondage to ecclesiasticism. The Lord Jesus needs to be changed from a theological definition to a living force." Let earnest laymen become impressed with such exalted conceptions of the possibilities of church life, and the dry bones will begin to rattle with the breath of the new spirit that is blowing upon them. Now we are compelled to misquote the saying of the great voices in heaven. We are afraid to say the kingdoms of this world *are* become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ, and with our half-hearted faith in the divine human possibilities of the love of Christ, we say the kingdoms of this world *shall become* the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ. The Church manipulated by the ministry alone is only a pent-up Utica, which is thought of as well enough adapted to old

men and women, but will not recommend itself to the men and women who cannot be satisfied with anything short of the ideal of the New Testament.

The Rev. Charles Gore, one of the most hopeful figures in English thought in *The Mission of the Church*, makes an earnest plea, that the most important work the Church has to-day is in insisting on a sterner moral life, not more sacraments, but less cheating and lying and license being the day's crying need. We will find no more fault with our fathers for not entering into a possession so golden hued with millennial dawn than we will blame them for not discovering the uses of electricity. The times of such ignorance the Lord winked at. The ministry might well be regarded as the alpha and omega of Christian activity. But it must not be so now. The Church dare not be satisfied with the scanty pasturage of the mountains of Gilead, but must go over the Jordan into the fertile Esdraelon, now teeming with the possibilities of social amelioration. The problems of sociology and economics must be sacredly cherished and solved. The political economy of the Pauline Epistles and the Sermon on the Mount must transplant Adam Smith, Malthus and John Stuart Mill. When problems suggested by such a comprehensive view of the mission of the Church, become the practical instead of the possible, laymen will be driven by the Spirit of God into this harvest field, waving white with the grandest harvest that ever tempted the reapers of God. The moral forces which rule the world are the forces which religious truth and social science are both dealing with. "The two, social science and theology, have precisely the same problem, expressed on this side as the perfection of society, on that as the Kingdom of Heaven. Not only must there be a mutual understanding between these two forms of effort, there must be an extended, yes, a complete interlock of labor; and a theology which seeks the regeneration of society in ignorance of social laws is doomed to failure, and a sociology which does not place prominent among spiritual powers the power of faith, is striving to guide and lead them into excellence without imparting

the true life giving impulse." In other words, the problems of the minister and layman are, if not the same at all points, yet so complementary of and supplementary to each other, that the Church and society cannot be saved without both being permeated by the life of God.

The will of God must be done in the earth as well as in heaven. The angelic song of peace and good will once heard on Bethlehem's plain, must become the choral accompaniment of the hurrying life of these later centuries. Christ must be honored as worthy of dominion and power and honor and glory by all the complicated, social and business developments that may arise from the accumulated accretions of all the struggles of all the ages. Our Christianity must be catholic, rich in provisions for the whole faculties and being of man. With the expansion and complication of our modern life, religion must have a comprehensive grasp of all the elements of our well being, and not permit them to escape and break up in mischievous analysis and consign themselves to mischievous trusts.*

The laity has not been regarded as an essential element, even in the business management of the affairs of the church. With the widening idea of the grand mission of the church, he has been forging his way to the front. He has had to contend earnestly for the suffrage which he has attained; and when he has once gone into it, he holds it sometimes, sarcastically and severely reminded, that he enjoys his release from the pupilage of inactivity, to the courtesy of the clergy. There are conferences and conventions called church gatherings, but they are in reality as much an assembly of the clergy as in the days when popes and bishops legislated for the people, without much interest in their spiritual welfare. The layman, although a somewhat important factor in the make-up of the church, has small chance in the present management of ecclesiastical assemblages. The attendance of the majority of the laymen on these occasions is so far as my observation goes, more for ornament, than

* Martineau's *Endeavors After the Christian Life*. Vol. II., page 5.

use. Clergymen always head the committees, with but rare exceptions. They do the speaking, unless here and there will be found a layman with temerity enough to take up the gauntlet and assert his unqualified rights. The reports of a church convention published in one of our enterprising dailies always show to the world that the ministers are the principal men along every line. All this superinduces ecclesiastical dullness in the minds of the laymen. We are taught, that in the general work of the church the principal portion of it belongs to the minister. They do the planning and the execution so far as they are able. If they should fail to complete the task, or if they find they have assumed more than their unaided energies can accomplish, the layman may have a chance to help out. The Church of the nineteenth century will prove a ghastly failure unless the laymen will have laid upon their shoulders a goodly portion of the management of the church. The apostles displayed a vast deal of sanctified common sense, when they put upon their fellow-helpers all that they were able to bear. The unbending logic of events tells us, with a profounder eloquence than Jethro, that the thing that we do is not good, we will wear away ourselves and the people that is with us, we are not able to perform it ourselves alone. "We can affirm with confidence, that by the blessing God has laid upon lay agency in this century, He has impressed upon it the seal of His sanction. Therefore we have also the right to assert that the general recognition of this principle would contribute much to increase Christian life. We can easily see why it is so." Put upon the laymen their work. Lift them out of the position of being ornaments and make them pillars in the temple of our God. Wherever a layman can be used use him. It will not lower the responsibilities of the minister, and will not curtail its influence in the least, but will lift the whole Church up to a higher plain of living, and a more devoted adherence to Christ. Laymen will be transplanted from the hot-house of ease and lethargic inactivity into the broader fields of usefulness and power. Mischiefs now hatched in idle brains will be swept

away before this new swing of power, and desert wastes will blossom with roses of abounding life and charity.

Synods, assemblies and conferences are run by the ministers. Here the work of the Church is mapped out. The best means of executing the work are put in motion, but the voice of the laymen all this time, is like the cooing of a dove in a thunder-storm. A wide awake, active business man may crucify himself enough to endure a session or two of this kind of debilitation and ennui, but he will congratulate himself, that he will not be caught in such a sorry plight again. When requested by the congregation to become a member of some future deliberative body, he will kindly but firmly beg to be excused. He has served for ornamentation long enough, and now proposes to wait till a place is prepared for him or for those like him.

How then shall we develop the lay activity in our churches? Introduce apostolic methods so signally blessed where fairly tried. Brush away the medieval cobwebs that have long since lain thickly upon the fair face of some of the most successful methods in the past history of the Church. They may need some adaptation to the new circumstances under which we live, but the methods themselves bear the seal of the almighty Spirit upon them. How shall we develop the lay activity in the Church? Rise to our opportunity. "Let preacher and people realize that the master opportunity of Christendom is at hand, to magnify the Lord Christ as the life and light of the world, and the King whose right it is to reign in every affair of individual and associated men. The trumpet of God is sounding down along all the lines of human thought, for men who shall be quick to discern the signs of the times, and swift to make ready the way of the Lord. The age's divine necessity is apostles who, from amidst the darkness and the perplexities of our modern civilization, shall collect the wider and mightier visions of the Christ, and shall speed with divine eagerness and undaunted conviction to declare unto the institutions of men, "We have found the Messiah." * Rising to this opportunity,

* Hemon's Larger Christ, page 23.

the Church will enter upon the sublimest era, since the days of the Son of Man on the earth. Prophecies that have seemed to have as little connection with the toiling and sinning millions of the world, as a Zulu with a Beethoven symphony, will at once shake from themselves the neglect of the ages, and become a pillar of cloud and fire, instinct with paternal deity, to guide the nations into the promised land. Laymen, with but a spark of divine life in them, will exclaim with Messianic earnestness, Woe is me, if I do not the work that has fallen so bountifully to my hands. The cry from millions who to-day sit with folded hands, will be, Lord what wilt thou have me to do? It will be as though a John the Baptist had risen from the dead, or better still, as though a second Pentecost had come, and a new heavenly energy was driving men everywhere, to cry out men and brethren what shall we do?

How shall we develop our lay activity? Give our men and women something to do. Put upon them all the burdens that they will be able to bear. Take them into our confidence, when we are laying out our plans for Church work. Impose upon them a fair share of the responsibility, if the work of Christ is not carried forward to a goal, worthy of these times when the Great Head of the Church is ready to accomplish such wonderful things. Let them go with us into the highways and byways of life, or better yet send them where we will not be able to go; and in an incredibly short time they will come back saying, Lord even the devils of greed, of ambition and of selfishness are subject unto us. And common sense assures us, that men flushed with victories, attested so certainly by God, will give themselves no rest, till the last enemy has been conquered, and the last sheaf from the great harvest field of time is gathered into the garner of God.

IV.

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

1793-1893.

BY REV. A. E. TRUXAL, D.D.

“Γνώθι σεαυτόν” is a good and useful motto for the individual to adopt and carry out; for no one can have a proper conception of his mission in the world and of the consequent duties devolving upon him, until he has acquired a measurably full and correct knowledge of himself. He must know what he is before he can know what he ought to do. This same principle holds good also in its application to man in the organization of society. A nation must have a knowledge of its past history, of the various elements that enter into its constitution, and of its present resources and powers, in order that it may consciously and intelligently work out its own proper destiny. So a Church, as Churches in these modern times of Protestantism are constituted, needs from time to time to come to an ever fuller consciousness of its own being, in order that it may ever have a realizing sense of the mission which God in His providence has set before it to accomplish. To attain unto such self-consciousness it must study the course it has run in the past, its trials and struggles, its failures and accomplishments, its elements of strength and of weakness, its present resources and opportunities. *Know Thyself* is an injunction unto which every branch of the Christian Church ought never cease to give heed.

In this Centennial year, the Reformed Church in the United

States is challenged to enter upon a thorough self-examination with the view of obtaining a fuller and more correct knowledge of herself, so that she may properly realize the responsibilities and obligations resting upon her in her relation to future ages. What is the Reformed Church in distinction from other Churches in the land? What has been her history in the past? What is the nature of the religious inheritance which her spiritual forefathers have placed in her hands? What is the mission that now lies before her? What can she accomplish and what ought she seek to accomplish for the advancement and enhancement of the Kingdom of Christ in the world? These questions ought during this present year to be prayerfully considered and earnestly studied by the Church with the view of reaching a state of fuller and clearer self-consciousness. Know thyself is the motto that should guide us in this period of rejoicing and thanksgiving to the Lord for His manifold mercies shown towards us and for His various blessings bestowed upon us as a Church during the first century of our separate existence in this country. For the purpose of contributing at least a small share to the effort the Church is at this time making to come to a proper knowledge of herself and a correct conception of her present and future mission, this paper is offered to the columns of the REVIEW.

From the year 1720, Reformed ministers came to the American colonies as missionaries to organize congregations and minister to the spiritual necessities of the German and Swiss settlers holding the faith as formulated in the Heidelberg catechism. In 1747, the first effort was made to effect an organization of the scattered pastors and churches of this country. Until 1793, the Reformed Church in the United States was subject to the authority and management of her foster mother, the Reformed Church of Holland. From the meeting of synod convened in the town of Lancaster in the year 1793 dates the history of the Reformed Church as a separate and distinct ecclesiastical organization in this new land.

The fathers of a century ago in assuming the responsibilities

of an independent synod were not actuated by a spirit of pride or self-glory; nor yet by an undutiful or rebellious spirit. They were forced by providential events and circumstances to take the step they did. The American Colonies had withdrawn their allegiance to the British Crown, and become free and independent states under a government of their own creation. This new political status of the country exerted a silent yet powerful influence upon the Churches in the land. Communication with the Church across the Atlantic was difficult and tedious. The demands of the Reformed Church were increasing on all sides. The classes and synod of Holland naturally began to feel that it was about time for the German portion of the Reformed Church in this country to assume the management of their own affairs. Because of all these facts and considerations the synod felt itself constrained to take upon itself the responsibilities and consequences of a separate existence. The apple when ripe drops from the parent stem. The Church was ripe for the movement inaugurated by our fathers. They were but faithful to the trust which providence had placed in their hands.

Nevertheless, it required unwavering faith and Christian heroism for the pastors and elders in that day to assume the obligations involved in the undertaking. For let us bear in mind the fact, that in addition to the weakness of the Church in respect of numbers and wealth, they did not possess any of those instrumentalities so very essential for developing the resources and carrying on the work of a Church. They had no constitution, properly speaking, no college or seminary or school of any kind, no church paper or religious periodical, no mission Board, or any other Board. All these things remained yet to be acquired. The strength and ingenuity of the ministers, who for more than a half century had been laboring in the country, had been taxed to their utmost in furnishing the widely scattered people and congregations of the Reformed faith with the means of grace. As a consequence no provision whatever had as yet been made for doing Church work in an organized manner.

The organization of an independent synod and the assumption of consequent duties at once quickened somewhat the latent energies of the Church. Still the servants of the Lord made haste very slowly. In those early days of the Republic progress was not rapid in any department of human affairs. That age was very different from the present. As much progress is now made in a single year as was then made in ten or twenty years. The Church advanced slowly indeed. The number of ministers, however, was gradually increased by the reception of some from foreign countries, and by the occasional ordination of others prepared for the sacred office by private instruction.

As pastors pressed to the then frontiers in all directions the synod gradually came to cover a considerable territory. Ministers and delegate elders met in the annual sessions of synod, canvassed the condition and needs of the various congregations and of the Reformed people in destitute places, managed the affairs of the Church as best they could, and made such provision for meeting the demands of the times as their limited means and resources permitted. On account of the comparatively long distances to be traveled by many of the members, and the laborious and fatiguing mode of making journeys in those days of no railroads, it followed as a necessary consequence that a goodly number of ministers and elders were each year prevented from attending the meeting of synod. The synod was consequently gradually led to take a forward step in the matter of organization. In 1820 classes were constituted. The synod was divided into seven districts, each of which was organized into a classis. The classes then sent delegates to synod to report the work accomplished, and the condition and needs of the Church in their several districts, and to bring back the actions, the requirements and directions of synod. In adopting the classical form of organization the synod followed the order that had very generally prevailed in the Reformed Church of the European continent from the days of John Calvin onward.* The good results flowing from the organiza-

* For many of the facts contained in this article we are indebted to the "Historic Manual," by Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs, of Lancaster, Pa.

tion of classes were soon manifest. In the first place the ministers and elders of the various sections of the Church were annually brought together in the meetings of their classes for conference and association in Church work. They were thus enabled to mutually encourage, support and enthuse one another in their labors. The needs of each portion of the Church were more fully and intelligently discovered, and its resources more efficiently developed. The new arrangement in a short time caused local improvements in Church affairs. And in the second place the synod itself was also much benefited by the classical order. Growing interest in its meetings soon manifested itself. A new life was quickened in the body. Its business became more various and gradually assumed a largely increased volume. Ministers and elders from the classes went up to synod with enlarged ideas and clearer conceptions of the work to be accomplished, and with more definite purposes in view. The importance of the synodical meetings was very much enhanced. The organization of classes dates the starting point of a new period of the history of our Church in this country. Pastors and people now began to realize, as they had not done before, that the Reformed Church had a mission to fulfill; and the extent and greatness of the work to be accomplished dawned upon their minds as never before.

The crying demand of that period was (as has indeed always been the case in the Reformed Church), for more ministers of the Gospel to fill the many vacant charges and to occupy the waste places of the Church. In 1826 the Committee on Missions reported no less than 84 vacant congregations, and Dr. Gerhart is authority for the statement that in those early days at one time 150 congregations were without regular pastors.* The foreign supply was altogether inadequate to meet the demand; and in numerous instances ministers from abroad were not adapted to the work in this new country. In order to create a supply a number of pastors in different sections of the

*See "Additional Professorships in the Theological Seminary," by Professor E. V. Gerhart, D.D., Lancaster, Pa., page 4.

Church took young men under their care, instructed and trained them for the pastoral office. A good work was accomplished for the Church in this way. This order, however, had necessarily to be only temporary. The number thus prepared was still insufficient; and those brought into the ministry by this means were not as fully equipped for their life's work as they should have been. The church then, as always, needed a gospel ministry fully educated and thoroughly prepared for their work. Because of the lack of ministers the Reformed Church has all along her history lost heavily in membership. Many of her best people have united with congregations of other Churches because their own Church was not able to furnish them with the means of divine grace.

The need of a regularly and permanently established school to prepare young men for the gospel ministry had been felt for many years. But the inability of the Church to establish and endow such a school was just as keenly felt. The people in those days were not rich in this world's goods. But dire necessity at length compelled the Church to move in the matter. The first positive action looking towards the establishment of a Theological Seminary was taken by the synod of York, in 1817, the twenty-fourth year of the synod's independency. During the years immediately following a number of different projects were considered and attempted. These were: Union with the Lutherans in establishing a school; union with the Dutch Reformed in their school; union of some kind with the Presbyterians at Princeton. All these plans however failed, mainly for the reason that the Reformed Church gradually came to the consciousness that, if she was to maintain her independent existence and be faithful to the trust which God in His providence had evidently committed to her, she must have a school of her own and educate her own ministry. After years of agitation and deliberation, after much discussion and prayerful consideration, after many trials and vexatious disappointments, the synod, in the year 1825, opened a Theological Seminary at Carlisle, Pa., with one professor and five

students. It is not our purpose in this connection to follow the history of the Seminary in its wanderings from Carlisle to York and from York to Mercersburg, nor to describe the great trials and difficulties through which it passed until it became established and comparatively well endowed at the latter place. For a full history of this period the reader is referred to the interesting books of Dr. Theodore Appel on "College Recollections" and the "Beginnings of the Seminary."

The founders of the Seminary were not long in discovering that their work would be largely unfruitful of the desired good results, unless provision were made for furnishing the young men with a scientific and classical education previous to their admission to the study of theology. Consequently a collegiate school was established in 1829, which in 1835 became Marshall College at Mercersburg. The College must lay the foundation in the educational culture of the student, upon which the Seminary must then build the theological course. The College is a necessity to the Seminary; and a crippled College makes a weak Seminary.

The decade from 1825 to 1835, in which our first school struggled into existence, marks an important epoch in the history of our Church, from which dates an era of new life and spirit and of marked progress in all the affairs of the Church. The classes of College and Seminary filled up with students, and from year to year young men well equipped for their calling were sent out to be ordained to the gospel ministry. Church papers and theological periodicals were established, the cause of Missions was prosecuted in a systematic manner, the cords of our Reformed Zion were lengthened from time to time and her stakes strengthened all round. In 1824, the year before the Seminary was formally opened, the statistics of our Church, as nearly as can be ascertained, were 1 synod, 64 ministers, 233 congregations and from fifteen to twenty thousand members, with no instrumentality whatever for doing church work in a general way. This was the feeble standing of the Reformed Church after 30 years of her synodical independence and after 100 years of her existence in this new world.

Our showing to-day is 1 general synod, 8 district synods, 56 classes, 900 ministers and 215,000 members. We have four theological seminaries in different sections of the church, six colleges, five classical schools and several female seminaries. Four weekly church papers are published; one Theological Review of a high grade and a number of other religious publications for families, missionary societies and Sunday-schools. We have three Homes for the maintenance of poor orphans, and a Beneficiary Society furnishing aid to needy widows of ministers. The work of Home and Foreign Missions is being vigorously prosecuted under the management of Boards constituted by the General Synod. When our first schools were founded the Synod was obliged to look to other denominations or to the Church of Europe to furnish the men to fill the various professorships. Now we have a sufficient number of ministers and educated laymen well qualified to form a dozen of faculties were it necessary to do so. This gratifying growth and progress along all lines must be largely attributed to the work accomplished by our institutions of learning. Let praise and honor be given to our ecclesiastical forefathers for their wisdom and self-sacrificing labors in establishing them!

The Reformed Church is more alive and active to-day than she ever was. She is every year becoming more fully conscious of her mission under the providence of God, of her prerogatives and opportunities, of her responsibilities and duties; and she is every day putting forth renewed efforts to carry out the trust imposed upon her.

In studying the history of the Reformed Church, as this was developed during the first century of her existence as a separate and distinct ecclesiastical body in this country, we must take notice not only of her outward growth and external enlargement, but also of her internal activity and development—her struggles, conflicts and conquests in the sphere of thought and knowledge. Since the establishment of her institutions of learning much has been accomplished by her in the department of Theology. Indeed back of the external growth of the

Church lay the philosophical mode of thought and the theological conceptions of divine truth that had come to prevail as the motive cause of the work accomplished *ad extra*.

Professors of History, Philosophy, and Theology in all its various branches ought to be live, active thinkers. In order to be faithful to their trust they must investigate, study and think for themselves. And such has been the character of the leading men who have had charge of the original college and seminary of the church from the beginning of their establishment until now. Drs. F. A. Rauch, John W. Nevin and Phillip Schaff were the professors who gave the theology of the Reformed Church in this country a distinctive character. They were men of great learning, wide grasp of mind and profound thought. They laid down certain general principles of philosophy, of history in general and church history in particular, and of theology, which in their lectures to the students and in their published writings they wrought out and applied, positively and negatively, in the various departments of knowledge. Thus they founded and developed a mode of thought and a system of theology that attracted the attention of leading theologians in this country and in Europe. They opened up new lines of thought and research, and thereby caused their students and the ministry of the Church at large to pursue their investigations and studies with lively earnestness and loving zeal.

The new treatment of historical and theological problems by our professors was not, however, allowed to pass unchallenged. It met with opposition both from within the Reformed Church and from certain quarters outside of it. Charges of heresy were at different times preferred, but when investigated and tested they fell helplessly and hopelessly to the ground. And opposition and persecution served only to call forth reassertions and fuller statements of the positions held by the professors. As a consequence the Reformed Church during the latter half of the century now completed passed through a period of intense theological activity. There was on the part of teachers

and students an earnest struggling and fearless grappling with the whole range of theological problems. The word of God was thoroughly studied; the teachings of the early church fathers were carefully investigated; the past history of the Christian Church was zealously studied; and the history of the various doctrines of the church was accurately traced. The relation of the Reformed Church in this country to the church of the past, and her relation to the present and future church of America were canvassed and defined.

The subjects that during this period received especial attention and elaborate treatment were, The Person of Christ, The Church as the Body of Christ, The Mystical Union of the Believer with Christ, The Nature and Purpose of the Holy Sacraments. The discussion of these questions led then necessarily also to the consideration of Christian cultus and divine worship. With the investigation of the true mode of worship came in then the question of liturgy. Over the liturgical question was fought a long and fierce battle. But, while the contention was ostensibly about the liturgy, the real questions involved were much broader and lay much deeper than the superficial question of mode of worship. The reconsideration of all these various subjects of dogmatic and practical theology, and their restatement according to the conceptions of our leading theologians, called forth criticism and opposition, and occasioned a controversy that was long, earnest and learned, and we are sorry to say, sometimes bitter and even discourteous. But the effect of it was that nearly all our ministers and many of our intelligent laymen studied theology in those days and became well founded and grounded in the faith; so that a learned divine of a sister denomination, who was in a position to form a correct judgment in the case, was constrained to say that no church in the land produced a larger proportion of well-trained theologians among her ministry than did the Reformed Church.

During the period between 1844, the year of Dr. Schaff's arrival, and 1878, when the peace measure was adopted, an immense quantity and a great variety of theological literature

was produced in our church, consisting of articles published in various periodicals and of pamphlets and books issued from time to time. If these productions were carefully collected, judiciously selected and properly arranged under general heads, they would constitute a most valuable theological library. It seems to us that such a work ought yet to be performed by the Church. If some of our brethren of sister denominations, who are in these latter days considerably agitated by theological views that seem to them somewhat new and peculiar, were to take the pains of studying our literature bearing more or less directly on the vexed questions before them, they could not fail to receive much light and derive great benefit therefrom.

Honest and charitable controversy is no evil. It is always productive of good results. While some phases of the theological warfare and ecclesiastical strife, through which the Reformed Church has passed, were and are to be deplored, mainly because of the spirit manifested by some of the contestants, nevertheless, upon the whole, great good resulted to the Church from the prolonged conflict of ideas. By means of the controversy the Church was brought to a clearer sense of her divine heritage and a fuller consciousness of her mission among the other branches of the Protestant Church in this country.

Any church that claims the right to a separate existence ought to be able to confront the world with some peculiar phase of divine truth, either in the matter of a doctrine or cultus, or government or practical operation. Any denomination that does not represent an important differentiation, of some kind, from the Church as a whole as represented by the other denominations, necessarily partakes of the nature of schism, and hence has no justification for its separate existence. It ought to disband and be merged into other branches of the Church.

The Reformed Church differs from the Lutheran Church. At the very beginning of the Reformation, Protestantism fell into two divisions; the one becoming the Reformed Church and the other the Lutheran. These two branches have from the begin-

ning until now been kept apart by some important and more or less fundamental doctrinal differences.

The Reformed Church differs from the Episcopal Church, more especially as regards the doctrine of the ministry and of church government.

The Reformed Church differs in various particulars from all churches of Baptist and Methodist persuasions.

The Reformed Church is not the same as the Presbyterian Church. We differ from them in regard to some fundamental principles in theology ; in regard to some particular doctrines, and in the matter of cultus. We have our own separate and independent history reaching back to the very earliest beginnings of the great Reformation of the 16th Century ; we represent a type of faith and piety and service of the Master that is different from that prevailing among Presbyterian people.

And we differ from other churches in one or more particulars, not for the sake of differing simply, but because our theology in the light of God's word and as elucidated by history commends itself most favorably to our minds, and because our mode of worship and form of service are most congenial to the religious feelings of our hearts. FOR US, our faith and cultus and way of serving the Lord are the best.

In taking the above position it might perhaps be supposed that we as a Church cherish a sectarian spirit, and stand opposed to all efforts at church union. But such is not the case at all. We are of all Churches most liberal. We claim nothing for ourselves that we are not willing to allow unto others. We unchurch no one who believes in the triune God and seeks to obey His Commandments. And we are ready and willing to enter into a federal union with the Dutch Reformed, the Presbyterian or the Lutheran Church, or with all of them, in such manner as will not do violence to our own individuality. Such a union would of course have to be based, not on doctrine, but on faith in its specific sense. Doctrinal differences will always exist ; but there is only one Lord, one Faith and one Baptism. The position of the Reformed Church would permit her to co-

operate in an organized way with any other denomination on the basis of the Apostles' Creed and a few additional articles, that would exclude such denominations as unchurch her members, as for example the Episcopal or Baptist Church. We are in favor of church union, and are willing to unite with other denominations of kindred faith on some federal plan on the general principle laid down by the Apostle Paul when he says that there are diversities of gifts, differences of administration and diversities of operation, but the same Spirit, the same Lord, and the same God who worketh all in all. The writer does not for a moment presume in this paper and especially in this paragraph to speak for the Church or for any one but himself; but the general position of the Reformed Church as he apprehends it, justifies the statements above made.*

But the Reformed Church, whether as a member of a union, or as a separate ecclesiastical body, must maintain her own individuality and perform her God-given work in her own way. We know that there are those of our number who evidently imagine that the duty of our Church in the present day and generation, is to become as much as possible like some other denominations; that our distinctive features ought to be minimized if not indeed suppressed; and that the features which we have in common with other churches ought to be developed and held forth prominently. But if that be the true position for us to take then we really no longer have any mission of our own, and we might as well disband and become absorbed into the Episcopal Church on the one hand and into the Presbyterian Church on the other hand. We have, however, in our

* Since this paper was written an editorial appeared in the *Reformed Church Messenger* describing the general and generous willingness of our Church to enter into a proposed union with the Dutch Reformed Church, in which the writer makes the following statement: "On the question of Church Union, so vital and potent in our day, this action we have sketched, running through a series of years, places the *Reformed Church in the United States* into a position which gives it front rank among all the Churches which aim for the much desired end." This sentiment is in entire harmony with the views we have above expressed.

possession an ecclesiastical and theological heritage that ought to be maintained and cultivated. In our opinion we as a Church would be guilty of a grievous wrong if we suffered our possessions to become despoiled. The Reformed Church would be untrue to her whole past history, ignorant of her present mission and unfaithful to her Lord and Master if she did not uphold and emphasize her own peculiar features in respect of Christian doctrines and religious customs and life.

Again, we find those who say that our mission is to be accomplished theologically by the maintenance and advocacy of the old doctrines of the Reformed Church. Just what is meant by this claim we do not know. It is true, the Church must never ignore her continuity with the past. The true and the good of the old must be preserved in the new. To cut absolutely and entirely loose from all past history would be revolutionary and sacrilegious. The effort of any one to cast aside the vast accumulation of wisdom and piety in past ages but reveals his own ignorance and folly; and the success of such an effort would open the way for an immense amount of injury and evil. There is a very important sense in which we are bound by the past. But if it be meant that an effort ought to be made to transfer in an outward way the exact views and precise teaching of the Reformed Church in another country and of a former age, to the Church of the present day in this land and nation, then the position is a false one. Repristination is an impossibility. And if it were possible for the Church of any day to do her thinking according to the same forms and by the same processes of thought of a former period, it would be useless for her to make the attempt; for the world having advanced could not be impressed or influenced to any appreciable degree by the truth as apprehended in days and circumstances of the past. History is a real life movement, a continual becoming. Ideas, it is true, are very slowly developed both in Church and State. It often requires centuries for new ideas to strike deep root and become fruitful in influence and results. Neverthe-

less old ideas are in the course of time modified and finally they outlive their regnant power and lose their force; and new conceptions of the truth gradually come to prevail and reign. Truth is everlasting and never changes; for truth is divine. The Son of God in human flesh declared; I am the way, the truth and the life. But man's conceptions of the truth are always more or less imperfect and inadequate. Hence human views must needs be modified, corrected and enlarged from time to time in the ever-increasing light of the ages as they come and go. It is consequently an error to assume that the theological thinking of the present day ought to be or can be rigidly bound down to the apprehensions and conceptions of divine truth that prevailed in the Church one or more centuries ago. To be true to our mission in these latter days we dare not be bound by unyielding fetters to an antiquated or dead theology. Theology is a living science, is never finished, and must always keep abreast with the age of the world.

Again: theological conceptions are always modified somewhat by the character and spirit of the nation in which they prevail. The human mind is wondrously conditioned and influenced by its surroundings and by the national life of which it is the outgrowth. The German cast of mind differs from that of the French; the French from the English; and the English from the Scotch. The American nation is the resultant of a mixture in the main of English, Scotch, Irish, German and Swiss blood. The American mind as a consequence is not the exact pattern of any foreign mind: and its apprehension and grasp of the truth are influenced and modified by its own peculiar characteristics. The theology and Christian life of the general Church in the United States must necessarily have a character and coloring of their own. And the Reformed Church in this country must consequently also develop and maintain a theology and cultus of her own. She cannot import these ready-made. Our national life and spirit, our peculiar conditions and circumstances, demand a phase of Christian doctrines and a type of

religion and piety, of the present day and strictly our own. The poet has well said,

“New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
We must upward still and onward,
If we would keep abreast of truth.”

The end of the first century of our independent existence brings us into a remarkable period of the world's history, and connects us with a marvellous stage of our country's development. The powers of this present world seem to be all astir in the present day. There is a wonderful commotion on the sea of humanity. Immigration to our country has become bewildering in extent. The development of the various resources of our land is being pushed forward on all sides on gigantic scales and with confounding rapidity. Towns are springing up in all directions and cities are fast assuming immense proportions. Our mining interests, manufacturing establishments, mercantile business and agricultural pursuits are growing and expanding in a manner and to an extent that startles the world. The masses are running to and fro bent on money-making and money-getting. The spirit of worldliness is rampant and seems to carry everything before it in its mad career. Selfishness reigns supreme. Skepticism and infidelity are on the increase poisoning the minds and hearts of men, women and children. Old forms of faith and doctrine are losing their hold on the Christian public. The theological world is in more or less confusion. Forces once powerful are weakening and breaking up. Indeed the condition of society from centre to circumference is such as would seem soon to land it on the verge of moral and spiritual ruin; and we might well be tempted to yield to hopeless despair were we not encouraged, by our faith in the triune God, our faith in divine providence, our faith in the Church, and in humanity too, to believe and feel very sure that notwithstanding the vast extent and great activity of the powers of this present world, and notwithstanding the terrible rush and confusion of error, evil and sin, still truth and righteousness will in the end

prevail, and the Kingdom of God and His Christ will overcome all opposition, conquer all enemies and eventually be established in all the earth.

And the Reformed Church, in common with all Churches, is called upon to enter the conflict boldly and do successful battle with the hosts of wickedness. We are now in this centennial year of 1893 challenged as synods and classes, as pastors, elders and deacons, yea as men and women enlisted in the cause of the Lord and His Kingdom, to enlarge our institutions of learning and make them more efficient, to place in our pulpits ministers better equipped for the great work of their calling; to labor more prayerfully and zealously for the upbuilding of our congregations, for the development of our resources, for the spread of the gospel among the people of our own land and in foreign countries among heathen nations, for the conversion of sinners and the confirmation of believers in faith and piety, and for the establishment of truth, righteousness and peace in all the world.

The Reformed Church is challenged before the world to develop a theology and cultus distinctly her own, and, with her conceptions of God's truth clearly defined and strongly emphasized, to go forth and assail the common enemy and make her influence felt; and according as she faithfully responds to this challenge will she accomplish her mission in the present day and in ages to come.

V.

EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

BY REV. T. G. APPLE, D.D., LL.D.

"MODERN PESSIMISM AND OPTIMISM."

"MODERN thought is making a fresh start from the base whence Indian and Greek philosophy set out ; and, the human mind being very much what it was six-and-twenty centuries ago, there is no ground for wonder if it presents indications of a tendency to move along the old lines to the same results. We are more than sufficiently familiar with modern pessimism, at least as a speculation ; for I cannot call to mind that any of its present votaries have sealed their faith by assuming the rags and the bowl of the mendicant Bhikku, or the cloak and the wallet of the Cynic. The obstacles placed in the way of sturdy vagrancy by an unphilosophical police have, perhaps, proved too formidable for philosophical consistency. We also know modern speculative optimism, with its perfectibility of the species, reign of peace, and lion and lamb transformation scenes ; but one does not hear so much of it as one did forty years ago ; indeed, I imagine it is to be met with more commonly at the tables of the healthy and wealthy than in the congregations of the wise.

"The majority of us, I apprehend, profess neither pessimism nor optimism. Further, I think I do not err in assuming that, however diverse their views on philosophical and religious matters, most men are agreed that the proportion of good and evil in life may be very sensibly affected by human action. I never heard anybody doubt that the evil may be thus increased or diminished ; and it would seem to follow that good must be

similarly susceptible of addition or subtraction. The pre-pounders of what are called the 'ethics of evolution,' when the 'evolution of ethics' would usually better express the object of their speculations, adduce a number of more or less interesting facts and more or less sound arguments, in favor of the origin of the moral sentiments, in the same way as other natural phenomena, by a process of evolution. I have little doubt, for my own part, that they are on the right track, but as the immoral sentiments have no less been evolved, there is, so far, as much natural sanction for the one as the other. The thief and the murderer follow nature just as much as the philanthropist.

"Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and the evil tendencies of man may have come about; but, in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before. Some day, I doubt not, we shall arrive at an understanding of the evolution of the æsthetic faculty; but all the understanding in the world will neither increase nor diminish the force of the intuition that this is beautiful and that is ugly. There is another fallacy which appears to me to pervade the so-called 'ethics of evolution.' It is the notion that because, on the whole, animals and plants have advanced in perfection of organization by means of the struggle for existence and the consequent 'survival of the fittest,' therefore men in society, men as ethical beings must look to the same process to help them toward perfection. I suspect that this fallacy has arisen out of the unfortunate ambiguity of the phrase 'survival of the fittest.' 'Fittest' has a connotation of 'best,' and about 'best' there hangs a moral flavor. In cosmic nature, however, what is 'fittest' depends upon the conditions.

"WEAKEST, BUT 'FITTEST.'

"Long since, I ventured to point out that if our hemisphere were to cool again, the survival of the fittest might bring about, in the vegetable kingdom, a population of more and more stunted and humbler and humbler organisms, until the 'fittest'

that survived might be nothing but lichens, diatoms and such microscopic organisms as those which give red snow its color; while, if it becomes hotter, the pleasant valleys of the Thames and Isis might be uninhabitable by any animated beings save those that flourish in a tropical jungle. They, as the fittest, the best adapted to the changed conditions, would survive. As I have already urged, the practice of that which is ethically best—what we call goodness or virtue—involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside, or treading down, all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive.

“It repudiates the gladiatorial theory of existence. It demands that each man who enters into the enjoyment of the advantages of a polity shall be mindful of his debt to those who have laboriously constructed it, and shall take heed that no act of his weakens the fabric in which he has been permitted to live. It is from neglect of these plain considerations that the fanatical individualism of our time attempts to apply the analogy of cosmic nature to society. Once more we have a mis-application of the stoical injunction to follow nature; the duties of the individual to the State are forgotten and his tendencies to self-assertion are dignified by the name of rights. It is seriously debated whether the members of a community are justified in using their combined strength to constrain one of their number to contribute his share to the maintenance of it, or even to prevent him from doing his best to destroy it. The struggle for existence, which has done such admirable work in cosmic nature, must, it appears, be equally beneficent in the ethical sphere. Yes, if that which I have insisted upon is true, if the cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends, if the imitation of it by man is inconsistent with the first principles of ethics, what becomes of this surprising theory?

"THE BATTLE WITH COSMIC NATURE.

"Let us understand, once for all, that the ethical progress of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it. In every family, in every polity that has been established, the cosmic process in man has been restrained and otherwise modified by law and custom; in surrounding nature it has been similarly influenced by the art of the shepherd, the agriculturist, the artisan. As civilization has advanced, so has the extent of this interference increased until the organized and highly-developed sciences and arts of the present day have endowed man with a command over the course of non-human nature greater than that once attributed to the magicians. The most impressive, I might say startling, of these changes have been brought about in the course of the last two centuries, while a right comprehension of the process of life and of the means of influencing its manifestations is only just dawning upon us.

"We do not yet see our way beyond generalities, and we are befogged by the obtrusion of false analogies and crude anticipations. But astronomy, physics, chemistry have all had to pass through similar phases before they reached the stage at which their influence became an important factor in human affairs. Physiology, psychology, ethics, political science must submit to the same ordeal. Yet it seems to me irrational to doubt that, at no distant period, they will work as great a revolution in the sphere of practice. The theory of evolution encourages no millennial anticipations. If, for millions of years, our globe has taken the upward road, yet, sometime, the summit will be reached and the downward route will be commenced. The most daring imagination will hardly venture upon the suggestion that the power and the intelligence of man can ever arrest the procession of the great year. Moreover, the cosmic nature born with us, and, to a large extent, necessary for our maintenance, is the outcome of millions of years of severe training,

and it would be folly to imagine that a few centuries will suffice to subdue its masterfulness to purely ethical ends.

“Ethical nature may count upon having to reckon with a tenacious and powerful enemy as long as the world lasts. But, on the other hand, I see no limit to the extent to which intelligence and will, guided by sound principles of investigation and organized in common effort, may modify the conditions of existence for a period longer than that now covered by history. And much may be done to change the nature of man himself. The intelligence which has converted the brother of the wolf into the faithful guardian of the flock ought to be able to do something toward curbing the instincts of savagery in civilized men. But if we may permit ourselves a larger hope of abatement of the essential evil of the world than was possible to those who, in the infancy of exact knowledge, faced the problems of existence more than a score of centuries ago, I deem it an essential condition of the realization of that hope that we should cast aside the notion that the escape from pain and sorrow is the proper object of life.

“We have long since emerged from the heroic childhood of our race, when good and evil could be met with the same ‘frolic welcome;’ the attempts to escape from evil, whether Indian or Greek, have ended in flight from the battlefield; it remains to us to throw aside the youthful over-confidence and the no less youthful discouragement of nonage. We are grown men and must play the man—

streng in will

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield,

cherishing the good that falls in our way and bearing the evil, in and around us, with stout hearts set on diminishing it. So far we all may strive in one faith toward one hope:—

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
. . . . but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done.”

We give the above extract from the lecture of Professor

Thomas H. Huxley at Oxford on "Ethics and Evolution," in order to append to it a few remarks.* It will be seen that Prof. Huxley finds one of the greatest difficulties in the theory of Evolution when he comes to consider the ethical problem of the human race. A careful reading will show also, we think, a remarkable agreement of Prof. Huxley's views with Christianity on this subject. More and more it appears that the harmony between Science and Revelation is being wrought out by a careful study of the theory of Evolution. Evolution presents a profound truth, but in order to understand and interpret it aright we need the light of Christianity, and we think Prof. Huxley in this lecture grants substantially the truths of Christianity as applied to the Ethical Problem.

We are not of those who deny that Evolution has anything to do with Ethics, that when we come to consider the ethical life of man we must part company entirely with the theory of Evolution. Man's ethical nature is subject to evolution as well as his physical nature. The natural basis for this evolution is to be found in the two forces at work in the unfolding of his moral nature, the idea of Right, which leads to the assertion of the individual, and the idea of Social Integration, which asserts the social principle, or the force of the general in society. These two forces lie at the basis of man's ethical development. The idea of *right* is intuitive in man, and in its operation it unfolds the doctrine of *rights* in their concrete form. The assertion of his rights grows out of the independence of the individual, and sets him over against the operation of the social principle, which would otherwise swallow up the individual in

* We quote from a lengthy extract as given in the *Philadelphia Press* of a recent date, to which is added also the following as published in a religious periodical, the *Presbyterian*, of the same city: Herbert Spencer also, in the 2d vol. of his most laborious work, "The Principles of Ethics," is quoted as saying: "The doctrine of Evolution has not furnished guidance to the extent I had hoped." Mr. Mivart, the distinguished English naturalist, has also acknowledged, within a short time, that "Evolution may produce man, the animal, but must stop there; it cannot produce the intellectual or spiritual part of man."

the general. The principle of Social Integration on the other hand attracts the individual to society, the general, in the family, the state, etc.

Now these two principles are adumbrated by the forces of attraction and repulsion in inorganic nature, the centripetal and centrifugal forces in the harmonious revolution of the heavenly bodies, and again in the organic world, the force of the principle of life over against the opposition of its surrounding conditions, its environment.

We might go on to show how the doctrine of rights has been developed in Common Law, Statute Law, and Jurisprudence, and how the social principle has been developed in the family, the state, &c. But our object in these few remarks has been merely to show that man's moral nature, both in the individual and in society, is subject to evolution from ground forces lodged in his nature.

But just here we meet a difficulty which evolution, in itself, is not able to solve, and that is *the presence of sin and misery in the world.*

We see nature developing according to fixed immutable laws, and working out its cosmic problem with unerring certainty, but when we come to man's ethical nature we meet with a new and different condition. We meet pain and suffering, and not only this, but we see that all suffering is a consequence originally of a violation of law. Man is the author of his own suffering. He has a will to choose the good or the evil. We meet here the presence and activity of sin, and man's responsibility for sinning or not sinning is universally acknowledged; else why is he punished for doing wrong? Is, then, sin a necessary condition for the evolution of man's ethical nature? So it has been asserted, so Leibnitz sought to find a solution of the mystery. Pain is only a necessary condition for securing health, error is necessary for the discovery and progress of truth, and sin is a necessity for a world where free will or moral freedom exists.

But this solution makes God responsible for sin, and it would

be therefore wrong to punish man for what cannot be avoided. Evolution staggers when it comes to the problem of moral evil or the possibility of man's free agency. The only solution of this difficulty from the standpoint of evolution, as usually interpreted, is to deny human freedom and introduce the principle of Fate, as the ancient Stoics did, or modern pantheism, as Spinoza does.

The difficulty would not be so great if it were found that, even with the presence and operation of evil, mankind is surely working out a higher state in which all evil will be overcome, that is, if the natural workings of history were constantly tending only to a higher and better state. In that case sin and suffering would appear as merely conditions for a normal development, and the whole process would be tending constantly to a proper end. But even Professor Huxley is not able to adopt such a theory of optimism.

Let us now ask the question; Does not Christianity, the teaching of Jesus, explain the difficulty, and propound the best solution of the problem, both theoretically and practically? And that, too, without overthrowing the theory of Evolution? Evolution is right in claiming that there is a development, or evolution of man's moral, as well as his physical nature.

But we find that this evolution is disturbed, or impeded, by a new principle, viz., sin. Why not accept just here the light that Christianity throws upon this subject, that sin is a foreign principle that came in through the free will of intelligent beings, that this disturbing factor is not from God nor from nature, but, so far as our world is concerned, from man himself? Also that man in his own strength has not been able to eliminate this disturbing factor in human life, and that the only power that can do it is the power of a Divine Human Redeemer? Nay, why not go further and accept Paul's Theodicy, that finds in Christ, the God-man, the final solution of the mystery of the universe? Creation, having reached its relative completion in man, does not stop there, but reaches out through the "Last

Adam" to a higher stadium of development, a still nobler destiny in the spiritual and eternal world.

We have no doubt whatever but that even sin will finally have its solution in this higher Theodicy, when Christ shall finally deliver up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all in all.

But we are passing here beyond the purpose of this article, which is to invite the reader's attention to the correspondence between the views of Professor Huxley and the teachings of Christianity. Read the paragraph on "Modern Pessimism and Optimism," and see how clearly and closely it agrees with the teachings of Jesus. There is one sentence there in regard to the "reign of peace, and lion and lamb transformation scenes," which is, no doubt, aimed against certain Chiliastic views that have prevailed in the name of Christianity, but which do not properly express the teaching of Christ.

Christ taught neither Optimism nor Pessimism, in their extreme sense, and yet He taught both conditionally. He taught the progress and the triumph of the good, but He foretold also the spread of evil. There are two kingdoms arrayed against each other in this world, the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness, and these two will go on opposing each other. Whether the one or the other shall gain most adherents depends, under God, upon the will of man. In the end the good will finally triumph, but not without a final development also of "the man of sin." What else than this is it that Professor Huxley would have us accept? Not the pessimism of modern doubt, nor yet the Optimism of Fate, but a course of history that is "very sensibly affected by human action." Just here it is that Christianity sheds its light upon the understanding of human history.

Notice also that remarkable concession: "Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and evil tendencies of man may have come about" (this, we think, is doubtful); "but, in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before."

Read also what he says of the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest" as applied to man's moral nature. "I suspect that this fallacy" (of evolution) "has arisen out of the unfortunate ambiguity of the phrase 'survival of the fittest.' 'Fittest' has a connotation of 'best,' and about 'best' there hangs a moral flavor." And then see how, in the following paragraph, he goes on to describe his conception of the fittest. "In place of ruthless self-assertion it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside, or treading down, all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help its fellows; *its influence is directed, not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive.*" What language, better than this closing sentence, could express the teaching of Christ!

It is our judgment that the best work in trying to reconcile Evolution and Christianity is to be performed along this line of man's ethical nature. In the sphere of natural science the theory of evolution is generally accepted, with a few slight modifications, but the difficulty is greater in the sphere of Ethics. A sound Philosophical Ethics is, in our judgment, still a desideratum. What we have to do here is to accept the truth of Evolution. There is a nature basis for the evolution of man's moral nature. Forces or laws are operative there as well as in man's physical nature. What is needed here, however, is to let the light of Christianity shine in upon the problem, not to contradict the law of Evolution, but to enable it to reach its right solution.

Unquestionably Christianity gives us the best explanation of the nature of sin as a disturbing factor in the evolution of man's Ethical nature, and also provides the power or ability to overcome this obstacle, something that no other religion has ever been able to do.

How is sin to be reconciled with Evolution? That, grant, is a problem which has never yet been solved. The wisest and the best have struggled to explain the presence of pain and suffering in the world, and its original cause, sin. The

best solution, unquestionably, is to be found in St. Paul's Theodicy, derived from Christ. In order to apprehend this aright we must see in Christianity, not an after-thought on the part of God, consequent upon the fall of man, but a system that entered into the original plan of God in the creation of the universe. Christianity is not unnatural. The first creation in Adam and the new creation in Christ are only progressive stages in the one great design of the universe. Christ is the head of the natural as well as of the supernatural world. In Him all things are recapitulated. Sin entered as a disturbing force, not by necessity, but through the free will of the creature.

This disturbing force is eliminated by His atoning death, and His victory over death and Hades. But His person and work reach out to a far wider issue than redemption merely. In Him God and man are united, and the problem of the universe is solved.

It is a hopeful sign of the times that Christian theologians and scientists are working more and more harmoniously together. The fault for a want of harmony heretofore lies not entirely on the side of the scientists. The church has much to answer for in the way it has often treated science and scientists, as the case of Galileo attests. There are remains of narrowness and bigotry still in the churches in reference to true and sound scholarship. It is indicative of a broader and more liberal spirit that Oxford, the old Christian University of England, invites Professor Huxley, who does not believe in Christianity, to lecture in its halls.

We may yet refer to the doubtful, if not pessimistic, view Professor Huxley takes of the future, as compared with the prophecy and hope of Christianity. He says, "The theory of evolution encourages no millennial anticipations. If, for millions of years, our globe has taken the upward road, yet, sometime, the summit will be reached and the downward route will be commenced." And how melancholy the close: "We are grown men and must play the man—

Strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield,

cherishing the good that falls in our way and bearing the evil in and around us, with stout hearts set on diminishing it. So far we may all strive in one faith toward one hope :—

It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
. . . . But something ere the end,
Some work of noble note may yet be done."

How far short all that is of the future which Christianity foretells when the new heavens and the new earth shall be ushered in as the completion of the struggle now going forward in our world! For, while Christianity teaches that both the good and the evil continue to develop alongside of each other, and thus sets aside a humanitarian optimism which contradicts all experience and observation, yet it speaks out in undoubted certainty as to the final result. The good will finally triumph, and a new stadium of existence be ushered in from which all sin and suffering shall be eliminated. Let the evolution theory accept this, and it then may stand. Christianity makes room for it, if we allow that its fundamental scheme enters already into the idea of creation.

True, there is one difficulty yet unexplained: we mean a future unending realm of sin and suffering, but the theory of evolution grants the mystery of evil already in this world; why not acknowledge it in a future world? Professor Huxley grants that when we come to consider man's ethical nature, the presence of good and evil, as depending on man's free choice, cannot be explained by "Cosmic Evolution." He says: "There is another fallacy which appears to me to pervade the so-called 'ethics of evolution.' It is the notion that because, on the whole, animals and plants have advanced in perfection of organization by means of the struggle for existence and the consequent 'survival of the fittest,' therefore men in society, men as ethical beings, must look to the same process to help them toward perfection."

If now the evolution theory must acknowledge a mystery in sin and misery in the world which it cannot explain, why should it not be content to acknowledge a similar mystery in their existence in the world to come? That theory at best does not find certitude at every point, it has not proved beyond doubt every stage in evolution; the "missing link" has not yet been found, yet it is received, notwithstanding this, as a *working theory*. Is there then any greater difficulty in its accepting a future existence of unending good and evil? We think not. Christian theologians themselves do not claim to be able to reconcile an eternity of suffering with reason, but the Word of God proclaims it, and so we accept it. When man finally reaches his eternal state this, as well as other mysteries, will doubtless become plainer.

Our conclusion here is, that Christianity offers the best solution of the ethical problem of man's nature, even as Professor Huxley treats the subject, and if Christianity can make room for the theory of evolution when rightly explained, and the evolution theory can make room for Christianity *when rightly explained*, a large step of progress has been made in *the harmonizing of Science and Theology*.

VI.

THE VALUE OF THE INDIVIDUAL.*

BY JUDGE W. N. ASHMAN, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I HAVE selected a very common place subject, upon which the utmost I propose to attempt, is to address a few words of common sense which may appeal to your common sense: "The Value of the Individual." The old civilizations, as you know, cared nothing for him; they wasted him in battles and they buried him by thousands alongside of the monuments which he had helped to build and which remain to us without a meaning. Once in awhile in looking back, a poet or lawgiver or soldier looms up from the darkness as the representative of a tribe or a people; but of the thousands or millions who made up the tribe or the nation we know nothing, because for them the old chroniclers cared nothing. Christianity, which is the basis of modern progress, has changed all that; it addresses itself indeed to the founding of a universal empire, yet it does not blazon the fame of the warrior, it lays down no maxim of statecraft, it formulates no policy of government, it cares nothing for the rise and fall of States. It deals only with the personal man; and its triumphs are written in the lives of individuals. Other ages may have surpassed ours in achievements which lend an air of romance to history; but ours is an age whose activities concentrate upon man as the unit; an age on whose plane of thought there are few mountain peaks, because what was once the valley has become the table land. The law of modern progress begins and ends with the individual; it

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contents itself with making him the leaven, which, in its turn, will infallibly leaven the whole mass.

I can imagine no higher nor grander conception than this ideal to which modern progress founded on Christianity points. When inspiration speaks of man as having been created a little lower than the angels, it does not speak of him in the abstract, as a sort of poetic myth typifying a poetic race: a vague sort of primeval man. It means the every-day man, whom you pass on the streets and sit with on 'change; the artisan and the philosopher, the toiler and the thinker; it means you and me. It was for these men and such as these that God rounded the world into beauty; it was for them that He traced the courses of the rivers and moulded and painted the valley and hill, and filled with a very plenitude of delights the home of man. He meant, and modern progress means, that man, the individual, so long as he labors for the common weal, shall have some share in the glories and riches which are heaped around him in this measureless profusion. And I have some sympathy for the Socialist, misguided as he is, who rebels against the social order which denies him the good, to which in his vague way he feels he has a title.

Because, after all, how many steps have we taken in our so-called Progress. Our government, it is true, is built upon the theory of the value of the individual. Our Declaration of Independence and our bill of rights and our Constitution are filled with magnificent platitudes (if these words are consistent) about the inalienable rights of the individual. But these constitute at best only a sort of paper currency with precious little specie behind it. Of what use is it to tell a man that he is possessed of the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, when he is out of employment and is dying with hunger? Of course he is entitled; but so is the patient in the last agonies of cholera; the task of securing these rights is about as hopeless in one case as in the other. Why, at the very time when this splendid truism respecting inalienable rights was written, a whole race within our borders was practically denied

every one of these rights. The day of slavery, it is true, has set, but the day of actual freedom has only begun to dawn. I aver that one-half of our teeming population do *not* enjoy the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I know it is fashionable to say that in this favored land, the rich and the poor stand on a dead level. It is not true, and you know that it is a falsehood. Sometimes, yes, often, the poor man's son asserts the sovereignty of his manhood and rises to the heights of power—but how does he do it? By hard and strenuous striving; by days of drudgery and nights of study; by giving up the joys of youth; by self-sacrifice; by conflicts which dull the edge of his finer sensibilities. If this boasted law of equality is very much more than a myth, how comes it that one man can wield in life, and will, at his discretion, at death, the awful sum of seventy millions of dollars, without the shadow of an obligation under any human statute, or any human custom, to bestow one cent of his unused wealth upon the starving neighbor beside him? The law of equality is written in our Constitution and in our statutes, but for all that it has never as yet, adjusted on a rational basis the relations which should obtain between capital and labor. In spite of its utterances one-half of the population of every city, if some sudden disease should overtake them, would not know where another meal would come from. We have churches for the poor and rich alike; but two-thirds of that same population could not worship in them if they wanted to—as they do not—because there would be no room. We have hospitals for the sick, but thousands die unattended and uncared for, whom human skill and tenderness could heal. We have prisons from which the prisoner emerges more steeped in iniquity than when he entered them. I walk through the narrow lanes of the city, and in many a corner and hovel, all hidden and unheard, I note the poverty which broods over a joyless past and looks out upon a hopeless future; and yet right beyond me are the stately avenues on which wealth builds its palaces and the docks where it unloads its shipping; and I know that one-

tenth of its abundance would suffice to bring to these plague spots of desolation health and peace and rejoicing. We have not yet begun fairly to estimate the value of the Individual. Every man whom poverty or ignorance or neglect robs of his power, is so much capital disused and rusted and destroyed. Imagine a banking institution doing business upon the scheme of investing one-fourth of its funds, and allowing the other three-fourths to be untouched in its vaults. Yet that is precisely the policy which modern social economy has adopted. Until within the lifetime of the very youngest person before me, it has practically counted woman out as a possible factor in the work of civilization. She is disfranchized; she is not permitted a voice in the selection of the men who are to rule her, nor in the making of the laws which are to secure or to confiscate her property. Indeed, until very recently, the only female whom the law, in its benignity, regarded as of sane mind was an old maid; it did allow her the privilege of managing her own property, where she had any, and the still greater blessing of being sued for her debts, when she neglected to pay them. When she emerged from this chrysalis state into the butterfly realms of matrimony, the law at once assumed, and perhaps with some reason, that she had become an idiot. If she bought a hat or an umbrella her husband was forced to pay for them, apparently because he alone and not she could know whether they matched her complexion; if she slandered her neighbor her husband was forced to pay the damages assessed by the jury, or to go to prison, in default of payment. If she earned any money by taking in washing, or by writing for the magazines, her husband could lawfully steal it from her. And some of the judges of our courts are now going into spasms because the Legislature of Pennsylvania has declared that a married woman shall actually be bound by her own contract. To put the thought into a sentence: Society is a reckless spendthrift. With a limitless army of toilers it relegates whole battalions of them into inaction; with boundless supplies of wealth it panders to the luxury of the few, and

allows the many to starve. In the high Court of Conscience Society must be adjudged a bankrupt.

You must not ascribe these deficiencies to the want of suitable apparatus for carrying on the work of the age. A mistake like that would be a slander upon the American name. We are a nation of inventors, and we surpass the ancients, among other things, in having introduced the science of Mechanics into the domain of Philanthropy. We have machines to relieve men of all ills; machines to make them good, and machines to carry them to heaven. In the play of this etherial mechanism, everything in our economy, moves automatically, like the puppets in a Punch and Judy Show. Mr. Drummond has written an ingenious book entitled "Natural Laws in the Spiritual World;" our modern philosophers have reversed the order, and have introduced a variety of spiritual machinery into the natural world. The old but Divine injunction was to visit the fatherless in his affliction, and by personal contact to relieve personal distress; and the good that came thence was as great a boon to the giver as to the recipient. But that was a slow and cumbrous method, and you do it now by machinery; you invest in the stock, so to speak, of a Soup Society, or an Ice Water Fountain for the Poor Society, in the hope of securing a dividend in the next world; or to be more exact in the metaphor, you drop your money in the slot, and take out a ticket to Paradise. The curious thing about it is that the factory which turns out the largest number of spiritual implements is the Legislature. There is not a single good in the long catalogue of human hopes, which that workshop does not offer to manufacture, nor a single evil for which it has not a machine ready to your hand. Do you want to stop drunkenness; it is the easiest thing in the world; get an act of Assembly licensing the liquor traffic. Do you want to make men reverence the Sabbath; that is easy too; get an act closing candy shops on Sunday. Do you want to civilize boot blacks; get a charter for the Young Men's Evangelical Home. Do not misunderstand me. I am not denouncing machinery; on the contrary I believe you cannot have too

many soup societies, Dorcas societies, sick diet kitchens, flower missions, breakfast associations, bands of mercy, bands of charity and bands of hope ; Temporary Homes for Young Men and Permanent Homes for Old Men ; Homes for Decayed Widows and Parlors for Pious Young Women. I am glad to know that when a mechanic is old he is supposed to be cared for in the Suburban Retreat for Mechanics ; that when a school teacher gives up teaching she is supposed to draw a pension ; that when a minister is superannuated he may enter the rest for aged clergymen ; and that when a lawyer ceases to earn fees, he may luxuriate in the almshouse. I believe in all these instrumentalities ; but what I object to is that we entrust to machinery the work which requires to be done by the individual ; work in which the individual conscience of the doer acts upon the individual conscience of the beneficiary. No remedial statute can manufacture morality out of vice ; and you cannot legislate men into virtue, any more than they can drift into heaven.

We place the same absolute reliance upon machinery in our political system: just as soon as we have provided ourselves with the proper political apparatus, our duty as citizens ends. A great many of us do not even undertake to oil the levers, by using our ballots ; we let the engine run itself. When we condescend to cast a vote, we do not always stop to inquire the name of the man we vote for. It is enough for us that an office has been created ; the incumbent who fills it is merely a part of the machine.

It follows that many of our political contrivances are like the locomotive built by the Chinaman, which was a very pretty piece of workmanship, but it would not go because the boiler was solid. Just think of what a magnificent system of checks and balances, of forces and counter forces, we are possessed—on paper. We have a President who watches the Senate, a Senate which watches the house, and a Supreme Court which watches all three. We have two great political parties, each of which is constantly using its best endeavors to save the country from being ruined by the other political party. Then think of our

municipal organisms ; of them at least, we may say with the Psalmist, that they are fearfully and wonderfully made. A New England woman was asked if she thought Heaven was preferable to Boston. She replied that she did think so at one time, but that Boston had improved immensely in the last twenty years. Well, we who are of Philadelphia, are like the people of Boston ; we prefer our own to any celestial city. Our political conscience is regulated by ordinances, and our political duties are performed by departments. We have a department of gas, and a department of water ; a department of police and a department of Public Safety and a department of law. We have any number of bureaus : bureaus of highways, bureaus of public education, bureaus of police, bureaus of charities ; and we have two chambers of councils. Even the brute creation goes through a bureau ; no fish can swim in our rivers, without being supervised by the Fish Commission. If machinery is to save us, our political salvation is assured. And yet we suffer sometimes. Our gas burns as if it was made of water, and our water tastes as if it was made of gas, and the only things which we get from the two departments with unfailing exactitude are the bills. We make a clean gift of our streets to Passenger Railway Companies ; and in return the benevolent Presidents of those corporations furnish us with cars, which we can only use when we have leisure, because when we are in a hurry we walk.

But the trouble is that mere machinery in this field will not answer. It is an old thing and has been tried too often. I have little doubt that Sodom and Gomorrah had each of them a mayor and two sets of councils ; but these agents did not save them, and some people would be malicious enough to say that they even expedited the ruin of these unfortunate towns. No matter what may be your appliances, you cannot, I repeat it, manufacture morality out of vice, and cannot legislate men into virtue. If society is to be reorganized and lifted to a higher level, the only lever for the purpose will be the reorganization of the individual. It is the whole law of experience and of inspiration. And if you hope to leave the world a little better than

you first found it, the only machine you can depend upon is yourself. The law of progress, as true of you as of society, is that all growth comes from within. No external agency can generate growth—neither school nor college nor church; they may give direction to growth, but they cannot originate the miracle. I am not slandering the noble institution within whose doors I am, when I say that the scholar may be crammed with learning; he may be able to map the courses of the stars, and to sound the deepest depths of philosophy,—and yet for all that, his nature may be as stunted as that of a South Sea Islander. It is possible to pump a man so full of information, as to leave no room for the play of his brain. Of what use to the business man is his knowledge of the dates of the Peloponnesian and Punic wars, if he has overlooked the date at which his own note matured at the bank? Young men come to the bar, just as they enter other professions, at the age of twenty-five, whose whole life up to that point, has been passed in the academy, the college and the law school, and who are dictionaries on legs, of legal definitions; yet they can no more impress themselves upon the common sense of a jury than they can build a common sewer. A stable keeper once boasted that he fed his patrons' horses so well, that many of them died from blind staggers. Some of our schools act on that principle; they feed so many facts to the brain, that thought is foundered. We forget in our systems of training, that what comes to the intellect from without, is accretion, is accident, like the soil which fastens on the rock and increases its bulk; we forget that the living thing—the tree which springs from the seed, the man who develops from the infant—grows only from within.

And so I repeat—and I cannot repeat it too often—at the very bottom of all advancement,—as its very ultimate factor,—stands the Individual. Wrapped up in his destiny is the destiny of the State. It is not to the Senate, nor to the army, nor to the navy—not to any political mechanism whatever, no matter how cunningly devised, that we must look for safety. Our hope lies in the individual—the boy in the school and the graduate

of the college. And to you who are about to enter the world of action, and you who have already stepped into its arena, the controlling question is, How are you fitted for the work? You are not to discard machinery, but in the last analysis, as I have said, the only mechanism upon which you can rely, is yourself. And the grand, absorbing fact which you are to know, is yourself. I am not speaking now of self-knowledge, in the sense in which it is commonly understood—an acquaintance with one's capacities and failings. I mean something different; an acquaintance with your own personality. If to-night, I might utter a wish which should carry in its train every conceivable blessing, it would be that some miraculously-gifted seer should come into this presence; should walk up and down these passages; should take each man by the hand, and should introduce him to himself. Life would be rehabilitated,—society would be reconstructed,—the individual would stand forth in his just proportions,—if each man could see himself in his own personality, and could see his neighbor as he actually is.

A boy once came to his teacher and showed him a knife, and said: Teacher, my father on last Christmas, gave me a pen-knife; sometimes I think this knife is the one he gave me, and sometimes I think it is not; and I want you to tell me whether it is the knife or not. It is just this way, teacher. The knife my father gave me had two blades; one day by accident I broke one blade, and the cutler put in a new one exactly like the first. Then I broke the second blade, and a new one, its very counterpart, was made by the same cutler, and finally a wagon wheel crushed the handle of the knife to pieces, and I ordered a new handle just like the original. So the new knife is the very picture of the knife which was given me, even down to the plate which has my name on it, and yet there is not a particle in it which was in the knife my father gave me. Now I leave you to solve the puzzle while I submit to you a more personal riddle. Physicians tell us that in every period of ten years a man's system is absolutely renewed; so that no particle of bone or flesh or fibre which entered into its organism at

the beginning remained in it at the close. The question then is, Are you the same identities you were ten years ago? The thought may have its humorous side. A legacy is left to you to-day, and ten years hereafter your testator dies, and you apply to his executors for its payment. Will you be satisfied to be told that the person of your name to whom the gift was made, cannot be the same person as the one who demands its payment, because every part of the legatee of ten years ago has disappeared, and has been replaced by new material. What would be your answer when called upon to establish your identity with that of the old-time legatee? What indeed could it be but that your thought assured you of the oneness of the two beings? A philosopher might make a more finished answer—he could not make one more philosophically true. Your thoughts were not simply yours—they were you, yourself,—and beside this supreme fact of your consciousness you cared nothing for the material structure in which they were born. It will be worth while to elaborate this distinction. You visit some great locomotive works and gaze with somewhat of awe upon the finished specimens of speed and power before you. The honest workman, proud of these trophies of his skill, points to implements which are scattered about—the hammer and plane, the drill and the lathe, and says, “These are the instruments which built those engines.” You look with something of pity at the man, and say: “Why these tools did not make the locomotives. They would have lain rusting on the floor and on their bases, if some force had not moved them. It was your strong arms and those of your fellow-workmen which wielded the tools—it was these which built the engines.” And yet were you not as mistaken as was the workman. Would not his arms have hung as dead and powerless at his side as the instruments around you, if some force from without or from within had not moved them? What force impelled those limbs into activity, but Thought? It was not the tools nor the arms and hands of the laborers; it was Thought, which built the locomotives. I will go further. Before a single beam was laid or a rod or

lever fashioned for that giant mechanism, the locomotive, finished in all its exquisite symmetry of detail, stood complete in the thought of its projector. And so all that lives and moves and exists once lived only in the domain of Thought. Before an iron rail was laid or Stephenson had harnessed vapor, viewless engines flashed through mountain tunnels and over bridges which spanned rivers that were never dotted upon maps; before Guttenberg had built his printing press, airy types lay in unseen cases, and printed pages were flung from noiseless cylinders; before Michael Angelo had rounded the dome of St. Peter's or Wren had laid the corner-stone of St. Paul's, the towers and turrets of temples which no hand had fashioned, rose above spacious avenues; and faces sweeter than those of Titian's angels, long before he had put his pencil to the canvas, looked down from the walls of untrodden galleries. Men forget this primal law of their being, and they fail to achieve the purpose of their life, because they are actually unacquainted with themselves. They forget that their bodies are no more a part of their personality than the houses in which they live or the clothes which they wear; that these are mere accidents from which at any moment they may be freed, without losing a particle of their own identity. What, for instance, am I doing at this time—looking down upon an assemblage of persons, every one of whom is distinguished from every other by some peculiarity of form, look, manner, and every one of whom is known to his fellows by this peculiarity. And yet I do not see you, your very self. I see only the accidents which conceal you. To see you, I must go beneath these surroundings; away down through the mysterious chambers of the brain, into the deeper recesses of the soul; and there, in that awful solitude which no eye but one has ever pierced, and whose stillness has been broken by no sound,—there and there only, shall I find you—that actual self—the ego of philosophy. Thought then, which constitutes your personality, is the motive power from whose exercise your progress, if you shall make any, must come. You will be, not

what wealth or social position or political fortune—but what your thought, shall make you. Your motive force, your creative energy, your destiny for good or for evil,—all lie wrapped up in your thought. A single thought has opened up a new era in history. For centuries men had seen fruit falling ripened to the ground; Newton had seen it a hundred times, but one day he saw an apple fall, and he asked himself the question, Why it fell. In the thought which answered that question, was born the knowledge of the law which governs the movement of the spheres. I can take another and a loftier example. Nineteen centuries ago, a divine man dreamed a dream, if you will, of universal empire. He resolved to build a temple in which all men should worship; to found a city which should withstand the ravages of time; to erect a dynasty to which kings should bow.

Where, you ask me, were the treasures with which he was to fashion these monuments, and where were the armies which he was to lead to victory? Why, he had but a single implement, and it was a thought; the thought of man's duty to man and his duty to God. With this thought he wrought for three short years, and died the death of a criminal. And now, after the lapse of all these years, when I venture to recall his name, do you say to me, what a stupendous failure was his? But was it? Why to-day I sail to a foreign shore, and as I come in sight of its headlands, the thought comes over me that not one in all the teeming millions who people that land, ever heard of my name or knows of my existence. I am to them all, a stranger and an alien. Yet all along its coasts, I see the lights which were kindled to warn me off from a dangerous shoal or a hidden reef; and I ask this question: Why did these men lavish these resources of skill and sympathy upon a foreigner who might also be an enemy? The answer comes: It was because of the thought which that man had uttered: the thought of man's duty to God and of his duty to man. Or I walk through the crowded wards of the hospital, and I see the little waif from the city's streets nursed with as tender a solicitude, and tended

with all the skill a rich man's gold could purchase, and I ask what benign influence has thus worked upon the hearts of men? Again the answer comes: It is the thought which has come down to us through the centuries,—the thought of man's duty to God and of his duty to man. And so wherever I go—in the streets of great capitals, and in the quiet paths of the country; in churches and libraries and museums; in hospitals and in homes; on the docks where ships are loading, wherever men meet in brotherhood and wherever good deeds are done, I hear the same answer, that all this is the outcome of that thought of the Nazarene—the thought of man's duty to God and of his duty to man.

Once get this truth fairly acknowledged that a man's personality resides in his thought, and how many conventional prejudices and fallacies will be dissipated. The best of us now judge our fellow-man in a half-dazed sort of way; the person is so covered up by traditional trappings that we scarcely see him at all, and we take off our hats not to him, but to his social position, his glittering wealth or his eminent respectability. Love and pity and high courage may look out of the eyes of the laboring man, but because his hands are horny and his dress is soiled, we pass him by without recognition. We are rather fond than otherwise of shams. We find it convenient to have different words for the same thing. The man who takes your bread out of your mouth by watering the stock whose dividends made up your income, is a financier; and the man who steals a doughnut is a thief. One of them sails in a steam yacht, and the other rides in a police van. Respectable shams, from whom all manhood has long ago evaporated, pose in a mild way as reformers. In the days of the Rebellion these men joined the Union League, because it was fashionable to be patriotic, and because there was some danger, if they remained outside, that they might swing from a lamp-post; and they became ardent opponents of slavery, as soon as it was an established fact that slavery was dead. Young man, if you want to be serene, if you want to shun responsibility, if you want to be safe—be a

trimmer. You will have a pleasant life even if it is a mean one, and you will escape censure by having no convictions.

Out of this misty atmosphere, however, we catch at times glimpses of a hero in a quarter where we did not look for him. To-night, for aught I know, not one hundred feet from this building, up some narrow back street, in a mean, uncurtained room, a woman sits sewing for the scanty pittance which is to keep her and her child from hunger. She is so poor that no one knows her name, and men and women as they pass her on the highway, give her no word of greeting, and no thought except perhaps, of pity. Yet she is doing, it may be, a work which you or I might envy. Forth from that room, and sustained by her prayers, her boy shall yet go to fight his rough way through the world—to meet the scorn of proud men and the insolence of rich men, and the temptations of bad men—to conquer, and to become the inventor, the poet or the leader of his time. Or I stand at the railway station and watch the engineer, as with rough garb and grimy face, he looks back upon the long train, filled with wealth and fashion; with bankers and merchants and statesmen; with women delicately appareled and fresh from luxurious homes. How that mean workman dwindles in the contrast! But an hour later, the man looks out of the rushing window of his cab, and sees death just ahead of him in its most appalling shape. One moment is left him—let him jump before the crash comes. Does he do it? With a steady hand on the throttle, with an awful pull at the brakes, he checks the momentum of the train, and dies a mangled victim in the wreck; dies as true a hero as the soldier who wins a battle or marches with a forlorn hope.

In the application of this principle, we shall outgrow the popular notion of what constitutes dignity, and which draws a sharp distinction between the elegance of leisure and the vulgarity of work, and elevates the professions above the trades. Some of us perhaps have a lurking belief that the trade of a mechanic is not exactly respectable. We skip over that part of our Bibles which tells us that one of the apostles was a tent-

maker, and that several were fishermen; and we hate to think that the individual among them who was, modernly speaking, the only truly respectable one,—because he was treasurer and carried the bag—was Judas Iscariot. If that gentleman belonged to this era, he would be eminently respectable, and would be probably living respectably, along with a number of other treasurers, in Brazil or in Canada. For several reasons, it will be prudent to pause before condemning the workman and his calling as vulgar. One is the Divine command: "Thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face." The luxurious man may elude that injunction for a time, but it is tolerably certain that the people who don't sweat in this world, will sweat in the next. Another reason is that in the vicissitudes of fortune, the wealthy man of to-day is often the son of a mechanic, and that his own son will be a mechanic, or something much worse. My own thought is that there is very much in the life of the artisan to be envied. He has more time than the successful and, therefore, hard-worked professional man, for recreation and study. John Bunyan was a peddler of tin kettles, but he found leisure, and he had the ability to write a world-renowned book. Roger Sherman was a shoemaker, and he was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence. But I have worked the whole problem out in figures. You will agree with me that very few laboring men work on an average $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day. I know that plumbers do not. But suppose they do; their actual time of labor in that case will amount to 169 days of 24 hours each, in one year. They will then have 196 days to themselves, to be devoted to eating, sleeping and other purposes exclusively their own. Now take the case of a mechanic who has reached the age of 70 years. If you allow him 8 hours each day, for sleep, he will have slept 23 years and 4 months. There is nearly a quarter of a century in which he did no work, and cannot be said to have suffered. Limit him to 3 meals each day, with a half-hour for each meal; it has taken him just 3723 days (I mean working days of 10 hours a piece) to eat them. A good appetite will have ensured him a

meal in the aggregate which took about five years to consume. Observe that I have deducted from this table the first two years of his life, because during those years he was eating nearly all the time. If you also allow the man his Sundays and 4 hours of leisure in his evenings, you will find that his holidays (counting each as you count a working day, at 10 hours) amount to 18,956 days. His actual working days, in his life of 70 years, would number 27,000 of 10 hours each, which would be equal to 9590 full days, or about 26 years in all. But in this last calculation, I have assumed that the man worked $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day, commencing with the day of his birth, and ending with the hour of his death, but the most laborious toiler never did that.

The acceptance of this principle will rid us of another delusion. One parable in Scripture has been worse confounded than anything else which was ever written,—the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. Thousands have gathered from that story the falsehood, that the only plea which they shall need before the Infinite Judge will be the plea of poverty; they were too poor and humble to be responsible. But what will be the answer, “You left your poverty, as the rich man left his wealth, behind you; at this tribunal neither wealth nor poverty is recognized. You were poor! but you were given a body, strong and active and supple; what did you do with that? Did you wield your strength to gather the fruits of an honest industry, or did you weaken it by idleness, or squander it by dissipation? You were given a brain, curious and complicated and priceless,—what did you do with that? Did you weave from it the scheme which was to ennoble your lot and bring hope to your neighbor? You were given a soul, in whose mysterious chambers great thoughts were to be born—thoughts which would reach out to the infinite; what did you do with that?” I tell you it will go hard with the poor man, if he fears to answer these questions.

I think that the subject which I have discussed in my rude way is a momentous one. It involves the problem of the con-

tinuance of our republic. In spite of Fourth of July orations and Centennial Expositions, our institutions have not yet fairly emerged from the stages of experiment. Older civilizations outnumbered our life by centuries, but they were buried at last. What element, except the one which I have named, promises to perpetuate our nationality? Immersed in the activities of an age which knows no rest, we are apt to associate power only with what is tangible, and to forget that the real forces of nature are beneath the surface and unseen. We gaze at the express train as it whirls past us at the speed of fifty miles an hour, and we say to ourselves, what a mighty exhibition of energy is here! We forget that at that very moment and all about us, great forces are at play, compared with which that spectacle of man's might, sinks into insignificance. What are they, do you ask? They are the laws of attraction and gravitation, which guide the planets in their courses, and control the movements of the suns; and whose awful levers work through infinite space. No eye can follow the line through which their orbits run, and no ear can detect a sound of their majestic workings, for they move in the stillness wherewith Omnipotence works. It is just so in the world of men. The real forces which control society are not noticed in the newspapers nor heralded on platforms; they do not emanate from the Senate; they don't reside in the army; they are born in the home, and they are evolved by the individual. You, young man of the present, in whose thought centres a high ideal of duty, and to whom all else—the pride of birth and wealth and praise—are accidents, you sway the destinies of the Republic.

I stood one day in a bare room, and watched a man who sat in front of a canvas. He was a painter, and he had drawn a few rough lines upon its surface, and had put here and there a few rough bits of color, which gave, however, no clue to his meaning. But a year afterwards, I stood in a long gallery in a spacious building, lined with pictures and statues, and filled with men and women. A great crowd stood awe-struck before a single painting, and I did not wonder that they did. It was a

noble picture of a sea coast in New England. The greenish waves were striking against the rocks and rolling off in long lines of silver along the beach ; the white spray was jeweled in the sunlight ; and the soft haze of summer was just wrapping a ship which lay far out on the ocean. It seemed to me that I could almost hear the waves as they broke, and feel the breeze as it swept the sands. I looked at the name below the painting, and it was the name of the painter of a year ago, and this was the picture on which he had been working. Each of you is painting a picture, which will be seen some day by a vast assembly ; it is the picture of your life. How will you paint it ? Shall it be in dark and lurid colors, showing only the tempest and shipwreck ; or shall it glow with a serene beauty that shall typify a noble life ? Sometime to-day look at that picture ; you cannot rub out a single line that you have put in it ; but the canvas is still before you, and the work is unfinished. Paint the rest of it well. It is the best prayer I can utter, as I bid you God speed and farewell.

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VII.

THE BENEFITS OF TRUE SKEPTICISM.*

BY C. A. LITTLE, ESQ., HAGERSTOWN, MD.

THE subject to which we invite your attention is the "Benefits of True Skepticism;" and while its is not our aim to encourage skepticism, according to the common acceptance of the term, we yet hope to show in the course of our remarks that from honest skepticism has come much good, and that even skepticism not so good in itself has indirectly been beneficial.

Whether we accept the Biblical account of the origin of man, and the first peopling of the earth, literally, as believed by the majority of civilized human beings, or whether we believe in the modern theory of evolution, as now advocated by many of our most learned scholars and Christian teachers, it matters not. We are certain that the original man was not a being of the very highest order as compared with the man of to-day. We know that in the early ages of the world's history, the black clouds of ignorance and superstition hung over the world like a dark mantle, shutting out almost entirely the light of intelligence and truth. In his habits, and habitations, customs and every day life man stood only a step above the beast of the field whose companion, though master, he was, but he was endowed with great capabilities, and within him was implanted a spirit that would not allow him to remain in this state long. He soon began to develop and evolve, and ere long started out in pursuit of knowledge, putting in motion the onward march of human intellect, that has continued unceasingly from that day to this, and that will continue until the end of time.

* An address delivered before the Alumni Association of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., on Wednesday evening, June 14, 1893.

His first fight was, of course, with the material world surrounding him, and which was, as it were, his heritage with which to begin life. This had to be subdued, so to speak, and made to contribute to his wants and comforts. The virgin forests had to be cleared with the rude implements his inventive genius, poor as it was, suggested ; flocks had to be reared and cared for, and all those necessities, which his physical, material life demanded, had to be seen to. In short, his life was one hard battle against nature and her severities, and his own existence depended upon the question whether he should subdue her or be overcome by her. That he did subdue her the survival of man testifies. That he did it well is amply proven by the history of civilization and the perpetuation of the human race, rising as it did from century to century, to higher planes of action and to nobler and greater deeds.

This sort of life, of course, tended to develop only one side of man's intellect, namely, that sort of intelligence which enabled him to perform the physical labors that constantly confronted him, and to invent and put into use the best methods for accomplishing these ends. A better way of doing a certain thing than the method in use prior to that time, reasoned out, or discovered by accident and then adopted, marked one step of advance and progress in his condition and helped to lay the foundation for the enormous strides he was destined to make in future generations. All this, however, resulted in the development of force and physical strength rather than in mental culture, and in that sort of culture, which we now look upon as the natural outcome of a superior intelligence.

But man could not stop here, he could not be hemmed in by the narrow confines of the material world, and soon his mental faculties, impelled by the innate desire for knowledge, implanted in man's heart from the beginning, began to take wings, as it were, and soar away from the material things around him and to inquire into causes that produced certain results. The inquiry once started could not be stopped until it had solved the problem. Many experiences of the same sort established cer-

man fixed facts, observations of different effects and the search for their causes led to comparisons and soon set man to putting into action those reasoning faculties with which he was endowed but which seemed up to this time to be lying dormant. Onward and onward he went adding to his store of knowledge from generation to generation, handing it down from father to son and hoarding it up as a rich treasure to be bequeathed to the future race. The progress was slow but sure. At one time it advanced rapidly under propitious auspices; at other times it was retarded and almost overcome by the prevailing ignorance of the times. Just as the physical man had to battle and fight for physical existence, so the intellectual man had to wage war for recognition, and for the establishment of what he deemed to be true and right. After centuries of struggle and strife only came the full dawn of the intellectual day, dispelling the mists of the long dark night of ignorance, and making the world appear as new born under the brilliant light of established truth.

Since then the progress has been rapid—simply the advance of a victorious army after the first line of fortifications had been captured. Soon man ceased to be only a tiller of the soil and a gatherer of wood, and the attainment of wisdom became one of his pursuits. The realms of philosophy were invaded by him, and he took the greatest pleasure in working out the principles governing human actions. Science became his hand-maid, ready to be in his service, and ere long the profoundest secrets of nature that at one time appeared to him to be unapproachable became known to him and turned to use by him. Things that were supposed to be controlled by his Creator became subject to his bidding, and were from that time onward under the action by man and their power made to serve him in his necessities and conveniences. Nor did he stop there. Not satisfied with those things that were simply useful, and that only related to his necessary wants, he by the cultivation of the intellect as a means to an end, and inspired by a love of that which appeared to be the æsthetic side of his being, branched forth

into the realms of the beautiful, and there made manifest in the great achievements of genius his power in that particular sphere. Art became to him a necessity, and revelling in the sweet sounds of her soul inspiring music or held spell-bound by the works of her great masters in the realm of literature, he continued to move forward and onward toward the goal, which the Creator intended should be his final destination.

In addition to all this, there is still another side of man's life to which we desire to refer here and without which his life, no matter how great his achievements, no matter how sublime his thoughts and instincts, will be a total failure. I mean the religious side of man, and in that too there has from the beginning been a constant growth and advancement, but this was different in character from the growth and advancement on the material or physical side of his life. There he had to make the start himself, and work from one plane to another by virtue of his own strength, while on his religious side there was help from without. He was created a religious being, and he could never, no matter how hard he tried, get away from the religious principles put into him, any more than he could get away from his own identity. True, he did not always hold to the true religion. Paganism, heathenism and idolatry frequently did battle with him, and for long periods of the world's history seemed to have almost subjugated him and made him their slave. Indeed we might say that the great conflicts of the ancient world were waged in behalf of these different religions. The strife was long and bloody; but in the end the true and only religion for man's salvation triumphed as it was decreed should happen, and the world to-day in addition to the boasts she can make with reference to her material progress and with reference to her temporal wants, can thank her Creator that she now enjoys the glorious blessings of Christianity and lives in the fond hope of a happy future life to come.

Why all this? you ask. We answer, that in this long history of the World's development, in this long story of the World's fight for knowledge and truth in all departments, is

where the benefits of skepticism have been felt and where they become apparent. Something had to be known before it could be doubted, there had to be something on which the skeptic could work.

What do we mean by True Skepticism? Certainly not such skepticism, as was taught by the ancients, who doubted all things, who believed that truth was unattainable, and who therefore gave up the pursuit of it. Not that "universal doubt or at least doubt with regard to the validity of all judgments respecting that which lies beyond the range of experience," as expressed by Ueberweg, nor that sort of skepticism as summed up by one of the ancient skeptics in the three following propositions: 1. "Nothing exists. 2. If anything existed it would be unknowable. 3. If anything existed and were knowable, the knowledge of it could not be communicated." We certainly could not subscribe to the teachings of those who were in ancient times considered as belonging to the School of Skeptics, nor do we subscribe to the teachings of even many Modern Skeptics, so called. What we mean by skepticism for the purpose of this discourse is what the word itself, taken in its fundamental form and according to the original word from which it is derived, means. According to that definition the skeptic is one who *doubts, hesitates* and considers. One who is so careful in his observations, as indicated by the word itself, that he puts his hands over his eyes to shade them in order that he may direct his sight upon the object he is viewing without danger of any interference from the outside. In short, one who does not take anything for granted, one who investigates for himself, who pries into things and tries to get to the bottom of them, and one who when his investigations convince him that the generally accepted theories with reference to the things investigated are wrong, has the courage of his convictions and is willing to stand up in the face of the world in behalf of them. Skeptics of the former class, doubters who doubted simply for the sake of doubting, many of whom went even so far as to doubt their own doubts, have existed for a comparatively short

time, while the latter, men who doubted only when they for some reason feared that they had not attained the truth have been at work from the beginning of time, and to them we are indebted for the many changes that took place from time to time in the world's history and that led to progress and improvement. It has been their province or mission to overthrow that which was old and that which they demonstrated was false and to establish in its stead that which was new and true, or which they at the time believed to be true. It can easily be seen of what immense service men of this sort have been to the world and are to it to-day and how much we owe to this sort of skepticism for our condition at this time.

That theirs was no easy task must be admitted, and if we were disposed to doubt it, the history of the world would attest in no uncertain sound the truthfulness of the proposition, and the blood of many martyrs would bear testimony in its behalf.

In describing as we have endeavored to do, the various stages through which the world passed in its development and progress, we did not intend to convey the idea that the work went on uninterruptedly, that it was started in the right channel from the beginning, that truth was attained as soon as sought after and that all theories advanced, although honestly, were true. Far from it, man was not a perfect creature, not a god, who knew it all. His advances were experimental to a great degree, and many times what seemed to be an established truth, and what had stood the test of centuries according to the lights of that period, was ruthlessly upturned by some one who had at first doubted the supposed truth, whose doubts led to long and careful investigation, and whose investigations led to conviction of the falsity of the theory. These intellectual cataclysms were at times so radical and sweeping in their effect that we cannot wonder that at times the earth seemed to be shaken almost to its very center, and the overthrow of the entire social fabric seemed imminent.

To properly appreciate this it might be well to take a glance at man himself and the character of his mental operations. We

rarely stop to think what sort of creatures we are and have been. We are gregarious, fond of company, fond of society; we want to be with some of our own class. We think alike in a measure, and usually our thoughts are controlled by some one, whom we look upon as our superior. Just as the savage to-day bows down literally to his chief and leader, so we figuratively recognize in many of our leaders the fountain of what is right. As the savage almost allows his chieftain to think for him, so we, many of us, without being aware of it, allow others to mould our thoughts for us. Take, for example some scientific school, that teaches what it conceives to be scientific truth: how many of the students of that particular school ever get away from the teachings of that school? how many of the students of that school ever advance theories different from those advanced by the said school? Take another example, which will perhaps more fully illustrate the point I desire to make just here. How many students of theology ever get away from the doctrines taught in their particular seminary? Those attending a Presbyterian Seminary cling to the teachings of Calvin as handed down from generation to generation. Those in a Lutheran School stand by the dogmas of their Church, and the students of a Reformed School and a Reformed Seminary in the majority of cases stand up for the doctrines which they have been taught. Who control the teachings of these respective schools? I answer, a few men, in many instances one man. I do not mean to argue that this should be different. True in some cases there may be room for improvement in what we now hear spoken of as the non-essentials, although we cannot find any fault with the fundamental doctrines, and the essential teachings of these different institutions referred to. Could we not, let me ask, select to-day a dozen men who control in a great measure the theological trend of the times? could we not, select a dozen men who control the scientific world of to-day? Not like kings do they sit upon thrones wielding sceptres of power, but wherever we look, wherever we turn, we see the effects of their influence and the result of their teachings. Men are dependent creatures;

they are so by nature and love to follow some one else; and to them "follow the leader" is an almost universal law. This has been going on from time immemorial in every department of learning, and the only way that changes could be effected was by revolutions in thought brought on by the influence of some master mind that had at times power to break away from the general current and to start out upon new lines, upon newly discovered principles. The men who did this were men different from the ordinary crowd. Men of strong bold minds—men of great courage—men of genius. To them the world is indebted for its high state of civilization to-day. Had it not been for them the march of improvement would have gone on in the same channel in which it was started. There would have been no changes and consequently no improvement. The world would have been dull, dreary and monotonous and we very little better than savages. They were actuated by noble purposes and impelled by the new impulses given them by the novelty of their newly discovered ideas. The untrodden paths in the great field of learning were pleasant to them and lured them on to further investigation, and just as the lover of nature is never happier than when exploring some new region, than when climbing the mountain cliffs where he feels human foot has never been before, or when he penetrates some dense forest, so the searcher after truth never feels happier than when exploring the hitherto unknown regions and bringing to light truths before unknown.

For the natural tendency of men to follow each other referred to before, there must be some deep hidden reason. No two persons are alike. No two persons act alike, and no two persons look alike; but what strong resemblances we find at times between people. How often the son reminds one of the father, the daughter of the mother! How often the son walks like his father or grandfather, and how all his muscular movements remind one of his parents' movements! It may be but the toss of the head, the shrug of the shoulder, or the turn of the hand, and yet we recognize at once how strong the similarity is. Add to this the effects of the wonderful laws of hered-

ity, far reaching as they are in their influences, and we are forced to conclude that although men apparently are very different, yet the differences are not nearly so great as we are at first led to suppose.

Is there anything like this to be found in man's mental operations? We think there is. We do not pretend to say how thought is produced. We cannot delve into the innermost recesses of man's mind and describe the workings of his brain, the seat of thought and of all his intellectual faculties; but have not many recent experiences and investigations in this field tended to strengthen the theory that every mental effort is attended by some action of the brain, some activity of the thought producing organ, not muscular perhaps, but something akin to it? If this be the case, cannot the similarity of the majority of persons similarly situated and under like conditions be accounted for in part, and consequently, do not men think alike, or rather, is there not a great similarity in their thoughts for some reason akin to that which makes them walk alike, talk alike and act alike? Is there not some deep fundamental law controlling the genus, governing not only the form and movements, but determining the quality, the character, the functions and the results as well, some deep law that controls the inward life of men as a class as well as their outward life? We submit that it looks very much that way.

Just as we are able to appreciate this tendency of men to follow each other in thought, in act and in deed, so can we appreciate the courage of those men who have from time to time broken away from generally accepted theories and started out on new lines. Even in the every-day occurrences of our lives how we pattern after each other. How apt we are to wear the same kind of clothes cut and made in the same way! This might be more convincing argument if I were addressing the alumni of some Female Seminary; but even we, the sterner sex, who are not supposed to bother ourselves about trivial matters of this sort, must admit that we, too, are slaves to fashion in a way, and that if for no greater reason than our aversion to appear-

ing odd and conspicuous, we follow in the train all the same and become one of the general crowd. How we hesitate before giving forth some new idea that may have occurred to us for fear that it will be laughed at, and we made to appear ridiculous! For the sake of our own comfort and convenience we do just as other people do.

This being the case we cannot help but honor those who have fought these intellectual battles for us, and who are fighting them for us to-day; may we always continue to honor and cherish their names. Bolder and braver than warriors upon the field of battle they have gone forth to war, not with armies of physical strength and power, but to cross swords with ignorance, bigotry and superstition, and standing alone, they have opposed and defied the opinions of the entire world. Oftentimes jeered at and mocked, branded as skeptics and heretics, condemned even by the Church itself, because of the supposed falsity of their teachings, they have gone down to their graves dishonored and condemned for teaching that which in after years was accepted as truth. They stood forth in their day and generation like giants, daring to doubt that which they could not believe to be true, daring to express their doubts and willing to prove their positions. As the mountains overtop the hills of the valley, so they stood above their fellow-men intellectual heroes. Doubt or true skepticism has been the strong incentive to many a genius. What reason is there for the new if the old is all right? None. Why discard the old for the new if the new is no better than the old? They, many of them, doubters, skeptics, saw far into the future. They attacked what they saw wrong in the past and endeavored to correct it.

As seen before, men are slow to change their minds and to take up new theories. When we stop to reflect that three centuries were required to substitute the Arabic method of notation for the old Roman method, we get some sort of an idea of the slow process by which changes of this character are made. The same might be said of many other changes in which

the benefits of such a change were apparent, or at least would seem to have been apparent.

Perhaps no page of history so fully illustrates the difficulties with which new theories were substituted for old ones, as the interesting story of the condemnation of the Copernican Theory and the teachings of Galileo, by people generally and more particularly by many theologians of that period who could not reconcile the rotation of the earth on its axis and theories respecting astronomy with what they conceived to be the teachings of the Holy Scriptures. It was known from the time that these theories were first advanced that they were condemned by the dominant church of that period, but just to what extent has not been known until recently, until the archives of the Vatican were thrown open to Catholics and Protestants, and the records in the case examined, and to-day when we read that the proposition that "the sun is the centre about which the earth revolves" was condemned as "absurd, false in theology and heretical, because absolutely contrary to Holy Scripture," and when we read further that the proposition that "the Earth is not the centre of the Universe and immovable, but has a diurnal motion," is also condemned by the most powerful religious denomination of the time as "absurd, false in philosophy, and from a theologic point of view, at least, opposed to the true faith," we open our eyes in astonishment and wonder that such things could ever have happened. And again, when we find that in 1633 Galileo, by an order of the Pope and by the action of the Inquisition, threatening him with torture, was compelled to admit "the error and heresy of the movement of the earth," we of this day are almost struck dumb with amazement, and while the Church that once made these condemnations has since endeavored to explain them away, the fact remains the same and cannot be controverted. These great men whose names are now known to every school-boy were skeptics, doubters, reasoners. They could not reconcile the old and absurd theories of astronomy with scientific laws, and they started out in search of the truth on this sub-

ject. And while it is true that they did not find out all that was to be learned on the subject, they, the men condemned as skeptics and heretics, laid the foundations of the science of Modern Astronomy. They, the greatest scientific lights of their age, the one "delivered from persecution by death; the other imprisoned and branded as the worst of unbelievers," went down to their graves humiliated and dishonored. Let it be the duty of us of modern times, the beneficiaries of their great achievements, to honor their names and to perpetuate the great truths they have revealed to us.

And when we read that Galileo "was at last forced to pronounce publicly and on his knees the following recantation: 'I, Galileo, being in my seventieth year, being a prisoner and on my knees and before your eminences, having before my eyes the Holy Gospel, which I touch with my hands, abjure, curse and detest the error and the heresy of the Movement of the Earth,'" let us endeavor to forget that such a thing ever occurred, and that a man of so great and noble a mind should have been forced to such humiliation, and that the history of civilization should contain such a record upon its pages.

Another good example to illustrate the difficulties with which these men of genius had to contend, and one particularly appropriate at this time, is the discovery of America by Columbus. Columbus was a skeptic so far as the teachings of geography of his day were concerned. He doubted the theories laid down by the most learned men of his day with reference to the shape of the earth, and the doubt once raised, he could not rest satisfied until he worked out the true theory of the earth's form and solved the problem to his own satisfaction, notwithstanding the strong condemnations with which his known theories were opposed when first made. The story is too well-known to be dwelt upon in detail and at length, and I simply call it to mind to show with what trials these men had to contend. And while Columbus was never persecuted for false teachings, this was simply because the correctness of his theories was proven by himself beyond cavil or dispute. If failure

had attended his efforts there is no telling what the result would have been in this direction.

And so we might go on at length to show how, one after another, scientists were persecuted and condemned because of the supposed falsity of their teachings. The fact that the teachings of those gone before, condemned and persecuted before, were from time to time shown to be correct, did not in any wise deter those who seemed to think that it was their special mission to persecute men of new ideas. They did not learn to reason that if they were mistaken in one thing they might be in others.

In speaking of the Church as being particularly active in the condemnation of these men, I do not wish to be understood as condemning it simply because it was the Church. The condemnation was general. The people joined in the general cry against them, and the Church of that day being more powerful in temporal affairs than it is to-day, by that means made itself more conspicuous, and upon it by many has been cast the blame for what all the people did. Nor do I wish to be understood as condemning one Church and the people of one Church alone, in these matters. So far as Protestantism and Catholicism of that day were concerned and their views upon these subjects, we take for granted there was very little difference. One writer upon the subject has summed this matter up in the following words: "Nothing is more unjust than to cast especial blame for all this resistance to science upon the Roman Church. The Protestant Church, though rarely able to be so severe, has been more blameworthy. The persecution of Galileo and his compeers by the Older Church was mainly at the beginning of the 17th century. The persecution of Robertson Smith, and Winchell and Woodrow and Toy and the younger professors at Beyrout by various Protestant authorities, was near the end of the 19th century. These earlier persecutions by Catholicism were strictly in accordance with principles held at that time by all religionists, Catholic and Protestant, throughout the world. These latter persecutions by Protestants were in defi-

ance of principles which all Christendom to-day hold, or pretend to hold. And none make louder claim to hold them than the very sects which persecuted these eminent Christian men of our day, whose crime was that they were intelligent enough to accept the science of their time and honest enough to acknowledge it."

Fortunately the day has come, to some religionists at least, when the revelations of science are hailed by them with delight, when scientific truth instead of controverting the truths of the Bible is looked upon as one of the most conclusive witnesses in its behalf. The more we know of Nature and her laws, the higher is our conception of Him who is its author and who governs it and controls it.

Where do we of to-day stand with reference to the many new theories that are being advanced and the many new ideas that are being promulgated? We are loud-mouthed in our condemnation of the men who did not agree with Galileo and who made him recant. We wonder at the stupidity of those who could not see the truth in the Copernican theory of astronomy; but when we put the question to ourselves and ask what would we have done had we lived at that time under those conditions? we really hesitate to say. The chances are that we would have been against them along with the rest. And now let me ask how do the present times differ from those of the day of Galileo and Copernicus? True, we have made wonderful strides since then. Instead of being confined to the meagre knowledge of the worlds and systems immediately around us, the astronomer of to-day goes far off into the realms of space and opens up for the conception of the human mind fields for research and investigation almost infinite in their vastness and almost limitless in the extent of the interest they excite. Chemistry is no longer confined to magic. The days of the ancient alchemist are no more, and the science of chemistry is to-day almost as certain as the science of mathematics. It has demonstrated clearly that gases found in cellars and mines are *not* evil spirits, that have taken possession of these places, and that

are able to destroy men by the power of their breath. As some one has well expressed it "the days of black magic in which the Devil was supposed to be the principal factor," have been supplanted by "the days of white magic, which brings into service simply the laws of nature." These are the days of Chemistry and Physics when we make electricity carry our burdens and illuminate our homes and streets, when ice is manufactured by machinery, and when we can pour liquified air from one vessel to another, and ere long we may find ourselves drinking liquified oxygen, as a pleasant or healthful beverage. Wherever we turn we see progress, new inventions taking the place of old and useless ones, and, in short, we have a very high opinion of ourselves, and I fear are very much inclined to think that we are very near perfection, and that there is very little room for improvement. In this we will be mistaken. Perfection will never be attained by any mortal, and the chances are that in the next century the world will move on as it has in the past, and that we, in all our boasted greatness, will be as far behind the people of a century hence in knowledge and wisdom, as the people of the last century were behind us of to-day. The great onward flux of the human mind in its attainments and achievements will continue, and the maxim, "The more we know the more we find to be known," will be fully verified. Our times do not differ from those of the days of Galileo except in degree. We are operating on a higher plane, and that is all; but we, some of us at least, still try people for heresy and condemn them, too. We hesitate just as much about adopting new theories now almost as they did in the days of yore. What, let me ask, to illustrate, is the position of the majority of educational institutions on the teachings of Darwin? Many condemn them, some adopt them, others believe them and are afraid to say so. How do we look upon the teachings of Spencer, Huxley and Draper? Ah, we say that we cannot adopt their theories because they do not coincide with our views. Is that an argument that they are wrong? We may find ourselves some day in the same position occupied

by those who condemned Copernicus and Galileo. We may find that we, like many of old, have been wise in our own conceits and have been prone to condemn what we could not understand. I do not pretend to answer these questions nor to say that the teachings of these men who are condemned by many, who are my superiors, are right, and that they should be accepted as such ; I simply raise the question for our consideration. Reasoning by analogy we might be led to conclude that they are right, but that is a question that each one must answer for himself.

Not being a theologian, I feel some reluctance in making any attempt to show how skepticism has been beneficial to the Christian Church and her teachings. And yet, inasmuch as all other teachings are of little consequence, except when they tend toward Christianity and are subservient to her, we cannot leave our subject without making some remarks in this direction, and again let me remind you that I am using the term skepticism in its fundamental meaning, and do not for one moment wish to intimate that I, in any way, countenance that sort of doubt that questions the truth of the fundamental principles of Christianity. But around these fundamental principles and based upon them has grown up the Science of Theology—the work of man—or rather the theories of man respecting these principles and their application. No one then, no matter how thoroughly he believes in the Bible and its teachings, will, I take for granted, attempt to set up the theory that all theology is right and true, or that any one system of theology is *all* right and true. On the contrary, being the work of man, it too is liable to be wrong. History shows that it has been wrong, that errors have crept into it just as they have into the science of Astronomy and Chemistry and into all the other works of man? Who have pointed out these wrongs and attempted to rectify them? Men called skeptics in their day, men condemned and burned at the stake, men excommunicated and humiliated, men willing to sacrifice life for what they believed to be truth, and who were willing to stand up for

their convictions at all times and at all hazards. Why, let me ask, should not the teachings of the Church change at least the teachings of the Church with reference to those things not absolutely essential or that do not go to the essence of Christianity? Why should not the Science of Theology change as those sciences pertaining to man's secular life do? Man's temporal wants are constantly changing—his mode of life is constantly changing, his laws and his philosophy are changing, and his religion must be awake to these changes also, otherwise it becomes stagnant, and lifeless; and we feel confident that we can with safety and without making any attack upon Christianity, lay down the proposition that as humanity advances, so will its religion advance and develop. This is fully proven in the first great break made from the teachings of the Mother Church by Luther. The times demanded a change. The day for more freedom had arrived, not suddenly, not, I might say, unexpectedly; but forces had been at work for years tending in the same direction and toward the same end. The break came, and the world will never regret the change. Many subsequent breaks and changes have occurred, none equal in importance to the first great one, but of sufficient importance to prove that the same causes of dissatisfaction will to-day bring about corresponding changes. The life of the Church is helped at times by these innovations, and any church that does not keep pace with them is bound to become inactive, and its usefulness is bound to be diminished. Thus it will be seen that even here the work of the true skeptic results in good, in that to him, as a doubter, the wrong becomes apparent, and he takes steps to rectify it.

But what shall we say of that sort of skepticism not honest in itself, and how can it be argued that it can be the cause of any good either directly or indirectly? Certainly not directly, but we feel that at times it has done good. In science, if it has done nothing more, it has kept the defenders of truth upon the alert, and made them more active in asserting their theories and principles, and in showing the truth of them. Just

as an army may be kept under arms ready for war by a feigned attack of an enemy, so the true scientist may be kept ready to defend any and all attacks that may be made upon his theories. It keeps him awake, as it were, and to this extent, at least, it is a benefit. The same is true in theology. A false teacher cannot harm the Church. For a time he may seem to be doing it an injury; but truth will prevail, and instead of inflicting any serious wrong he simply stirs up those opposed to him to greater activity, and in the end is indirectly the cause of some good.

We all need stirring up occasionally. It does us good to be stirred up in our business once in awhile. Opposition always calls forth greater efforts from the other side than would otherwise have taken place. When one lawyer knows that he is going to be opposed by a brilliant and able lawyer in a case, he always makes more careful preparation for the fight than if one not quite so strong is to appear against him, and the same I take for granted is true of every department of learning. Oppose my scientific theories, and I will put my best foot forth to vindicate them. Oppose my theology, and I will respond to the call for battle on this line with renewed energy even if the attack may be so false as to be absurd and ridiculous.

What harm do you suppose Bob Ingersoll has inflicted upon the cause of Christianity by his attacks upon it? If we consider the ultimate result—I would say none. True he may have some followers, and he may at times seem to be doing the cause injury; but when we take into consideration the renewed activity on the part of the Church, brought about by his absurd opposition to its teachings, and the absurd theories he would substitute for truth, we feel inclined to laugh at his efforts, and to say that the balance is not, at least, against the Church.

The age in which we live to-day is a peculiar one. Never before in the history of the world have the energies of men been so actively engaged in search of truth as they are to-day, and never before have there been so many doubters and skeptics according to our definition of them as we find at this time. Old theories in the sciences are being doubted, questioned and

their convictions at all times and at all hazards. Why, let me ask, should not the teachings of the Church change at least the teachings of the Church with reference to those things not absolutely essential or that do not go to the essence of Christianity? Why should not the Science of Theology change as those sciences pertaining to man's secular life do? Man's temporal wants are constantly changing—his mode of life is constantly changing, his laws and his philosophy are changing, and his religion must be awake to these changes also, otherwise it becomes stagnant, and lifeless; and we feel confident that we can with safety and without making any attack upon Christianity, lay down the proposition that as humanity advances, so will its religion advance and develop. This is fully proven in the first great break made from the teachings of the Mother Church by Luther. The times demanded a change. The day for more freedom had arrived, not suddenly, not, I might say, unexpectedly; but forces had been at work for years tending in the same direction and toward the same end. The break came, and the world will never regret the change. Many subsequent breaks and changes have occurred, none equal in importance to the first great one, but of sufficient importance to prove that the same causes of dissatisfaction will to-day bring about corresponding changes. The life of the Church is helped at times by these innovations, and any church that does not keep pace with them is bound to become inactive, and its usefulness is bound to be diminished. Thus it will be seen that even here the work of the true skeptic results in good, in that to him, as a doubter, the wrong becomes apparent, and he takes steps to rectify it.

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VIII.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA. By William Garden Blaikie, D.D., L.L.D., New College, Edinburg. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 51 East Tenth Street. 1893. Price \$1.50.

THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS. By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F. R. S., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge: Archdeacon of Westminster. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1893. Price \$1.50.

EZRA, NEHEMIAH AND ESTHER. By Walter F. Adeney, M. A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis and Church History, New College, London. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1893. Price \$1.50.

These three volumes belong to the series known as "The Expositor's Bible" and are possessed of the same attractive features which distinguish the previous volumes of this admirable series of expository works.

The Exposition of the Book of Joshua by Professor Blaikie is written from a conservative standpoint, "Rationalists," he says, "may count us wrong in believing that the Hebrew historical books are more than Hebrew annals—are the records of a Divine manifestation. But they cannot hold us unreasonable or inconsistent if, believing this, we believe in the miracles which the books record." "As to the hand of a reviser or revisers in the book," he also says, "we see no difficulty in allowing for such. We can conceive an authorized reviser expanding speeches, but thoroughly in the line of the speakers, or inserting explanatory remarks as to places, or as to practices that had prevailed 'unto this day.' But it is atrocious to be told of revisers coloring statements and modifying facts in the interests of religious parties, or even in the interest of truth itself. Any alterations in the way of revision seem to have been very limited, otherwise we should not find in the existing text those awkward joinings of different documents which are not in perfect accord. Whoever the revisers were, they seem to have judged it best to leave these things as they found them, rather than incur the responsibility of altering what had already been written." The Exposition itself is throughout highly interesting and instructive, and will prove profitable reading even to those who may not at all points agree with the author in the view he takes of some of the incidents which he seeks to explain.

In his Exposition of the First Book of Kings, Archdeacon Farrar is much less conservative than Professor Blaikie in his treatment of the Book of Joshua. "The Bible," he maintains, "was written in human language, by men for men. It was written mainly in Judea, by Jews, for Jews. '*Scripture*,' as the old theological rule said, '*is the sense of Scripture*,' and the sense of Scripture can only be ascertained by the methods of study and the rules of criticism without which no ancient document or literature can be even approximately understood. In these respects the Bible cannot be arbitrarily or exceptionally treated. No *a priori* rules can be devised for its elucidation. It is what it is, not what we might have expected it to be." He moreover claims that "There is scarcely a single competent scholar who does not now admit that the Hexateuch is a composite structure; that much of the Levitical legislation which was once called Mosaic, is in reality an aftergrowth which *in its present form* is not earlier than the days of the Prophet Ezekiel; that the Book of Deuteronomy belongs, in its present form, whatever older elements it may contain, to the era of Hezekiah's or Josiah's reformation; that the Books of Zechariah and Isaiah are not homogeneous, but preserve the writings of more prophets than their titles imply; that only a small section of the Psalter was the work of David; that the Book of Ecclesiastes was not the work of King Solomon; that most of the Book of Daniel belongs to the era of Antiochus Epiphanes; and so forth." Of the Book of Kings, he says: "It must not be imagined that the late compilation of the book, or its subsequent recensions, or the dogmatic coloring which it may have insensibly derived from the religious systems and organizations of days subsequent to the Exile, have in the least affected the main historic veracity of the Kingly annals. They may have influenced the omissions and the moral estimates, but the events themselves are in every case confirmed when we are able to compare them with any records and monuments of Phœnicia, Moab, Egypt, Assyria, or Babylon." As regards the Exposition of the book before us, it is almost all that could be desired. On every page it gives evidence of superior scholarship and deep spiritual insight. It is, moreover, possessed of those attractive qualities of style which characterize all the writings of the author, and make them such delightful reading. Of the volumes of the series to which it belongs it is one of the very best.

The Exposition of the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, by Professor Adeney is also highly meritorious. The thirty-five chapters of which the volume is composed, are all full of interesting and instructive matter and throw much light on those portions of Scripture to which they relate, and which they aim to explain. The work is in every respect worthy a place alongside the other volumes of the series to which it belongs.

We would, indeed, heartily commend all these volumes to our Ministerial brethren as rich in thought and as mentally and spiritually stimulating. The careful study of them could scarcely fail to make the pulpit utterances of ministers generally not only more interesting but also more edifying.

THE DEACONESS AND HER VOCATION. By Bishop Thoburn. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1893. Price 60 cents.

This little volume is made up of four sermons and addresses which treat respectively of The Deaconess and Her Work, The Modern Deaconess, The Deaconess Movement, and The Deaconess and Her Vocation. These discourses give much interesting and valuable information on the subject to which they relate. Those interested in this subject will find the volume especially worthy their attention. Its general circulation among Christian men and women could scarcely fail to be productive of good results.

REVISED NORMAL LESSONS. By Jesse Lyman Hurlbut. New York. Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1893. Price in Paper, 25 cents; in Cloth, 40 cents.

This book has been prepared for the instruction of Normal Classes in the Sunday-School, and is admirably adapted to the purpose for which it is intended. If a Normal class could be formed in every Sunday-school and these lessons were carefully studied by the members of the class there can be no doubt much good would result. In every Sunday-school such a class is needed for the preparation of the teachers if Sunday-school instruction is to be made more effective and truly edifying.

THE STORY OF A LETTER; Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. By John H. Vincent. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. 1893. Price 20 cents.

This little booklet forms part of a series designated "The Book of Books Series." Its purpose is to give a brief account of the origin and contents of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians and to awaken interest in its study. In appendices the arguments in favor of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle, and the Epistle according to the revised version are given. The story of the Epistle is interestingly and instructively told.

THE METHODIST YEAR BOOK FOR 1893. Edited by Rev. A. B. Sanford, M. A. New York: Hunt & Eaton, Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts. Price 10 cents.

This Year Book gives a large amount of useful and interesting information concerning the denomination in whose interest it is issued. It will be found a valuable handbook not only by members of the Methodist Church, but by all who would keep themselves well informed as regards religious work and progress in our country.

THE PEOPLE'S BIBLE. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By Joseph Parker, D.D., London. **MARK—LUKE.** Octavo, 460 pp., cloth. New York and Toronto: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1893. Price, \$1.50.

Dr. Parker's "People's Bible" is the record of his own teaching. Ministers sometimes find a difficulty in knowing how to instruct the people in the Bible as a whole, or in sections. In preaching the textual method is, for the most part used, i. e., a single verse is made the subject of a sermon, or at times several verses. But it is felt that the people need instruction in larger portions of the Bible, or in the Bible as a whole. We have in these volumes Dr. Parker's method, and his experience is worth a great deal. He seems to have a special qualification for this kind of Biblical instruction, and we think his work is a great help for pastors, as well as adapted to general reading. He publishes the prayers he used, as a preparation of mind and heart for the study that follows. We might perhaps criticise these prayers, one feels their inferiority as compared with the liturgical prayers of the church, they are often purely didactic, at times a mere meditation, and we feel that often one of the good old collects would be better. But there is also much in them that is excellent, and they constantly remind the student of the Bible of the importance of prayer in the study of the Scriptures. This volume on Mark and Luke is quite up to the standard of his preceding volumes. Dr. Parker's method might be used with great advantage, we think, in the weekly-prayer-meeting, the Bible-class, or even in one of the regular services on the Lord's day. For, say what we will, there is a lamentable lack of acquaintance with the Bible in our day. Ministers trust to the reading of it in the family, but this we fear is much neglected. From the example given of our Saviour it would seem that something like this method of Dr. Parker's was used in the Synagogue worship. He read a section, or a whole lesson, and then closed the book and commented upon it. Those who follow the church have this want largely supplied in the Pericopes, but they are necessarily limited, and leave room for a still more general study of the Bible, such as is set forth in these volumes of Dr. Parker. We commend them for this purpose.

THE REFORMED QUARTERLY REVIEW

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I.

THE CRUSADES.

BY PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D., LL.D.

“No idle fancy was it when of yore,
Pilgrims in countless numbers braved the seas,
And legions battled on the farthest shore,

Only to pray at Thy sepulchral bed,
Only in pious gratitude to kiss
The sacred earth on which Thy feet did tread.”

—From the German of LUDWIG UHLAND (*An den Unsichtbaren*).

LITERATURE.

For the sources and works on the Crusades see MICHAUD's *Bibliographie des Croisades*, and SYBEL's *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*. From WILKEN and MICHAUD we have the most learned and elaborate histories of all the Crusades; from SYBEL, the most critical history of the first Crusade, with an introduction on the contemporary accounts (1-143).

I. SOURCES.

JAC. BONGARS (b. at Orleans, d. 1612): *Gesta Dei* [we might add: *et Diaboli*] *per Francos, sive Orientalium Expeditionum et Regni Francorum Hierosolymitani Historia*, etc. Hanoviæ (Hanau, not Hanover, as given by Hallam and others), 1611, 2 vols. fol. (1206 and 361 pages. A copy in the Astor Lib.). The first printed collection of contemporary reports (chiefly of

the first Crusade) including: 1. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitarum*, by an anonymous writer who took part in the first crusade. 2. *Historia Hierosolymitana*, by ROBERT, a monk of S. Remi. 3. *Historia Hierosolymitana*, by BALDRICH, the abbot, afterwards archbishop of Dol. 4. *Historia Francorum*, by RAYMOND DE AGILES, chaplain to the Count of Toulouse. 5. *Hist. Hierosol. Expeditionis* by ALBERTUS AGUENSIS (of Aix-la-Chapelle), who introduced the popular form of the legend of Peter, the Hermit. 6. *Gesta Perigrinantium Francorum*, by FULCHER, chaplain to the Count of Chartres and afterwards to Baldwin, the second king of Jerusalem. 7. *Gesta Dei per Francos*, by GUIBERT, abbot of Nogent. 8. *Hist. Hierosol.* by WILLIAM, archbishop of Tyre (WILLERMUS TYRENSIS, GUILLUME DE TYR). The last is the most important.

Archbishop WILLIAM of Tyre (b. probably in Jerusalem, 1130, d. after 1184,) has shaped the accounts of later historians down to the critical researches of von Sybel who has somewhat invalidated his account of Peter the Hermit. The full title of his work is *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth usque ad annum Domini 1184*. It was first printed at Basle under the title "*Belli sacri Historia*," 1540 fol. German transl. (*Gesch. der Kreuzzüge und des Königreichs Jerusalem*) by E. and R. KAUSLER, Stuttgart, 1840 (634 pages). A new Latin ed. in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, Tom. 201. French text by M. Paulin Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, Paris 1879-'81, 2 vols. William is one of the ablest, if not the ablest, of mediæval historians, and his work is the monumental history of the first crusade and the kingdom of Jerusalem. He was probably of Italian descent, educated in Europe, familiar with Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew, well read in the Bible, the ancient classics, and Jerome. He stands between the credulous enthusiasm of his predecessors and the cold skepticism of later historians. In the first 15 books he depends on earlier reports and oral traditions; from the 16th to the 23rd book he speaks from his own observation and from reports of contemporaries. The last book is incomplete and consists only of a preface and one chapter. The criticism of Wilken, Ranke, Sybel and Hagenmeyer has shaken confidence in his originality, chronological accuracy, and his account of Peter the Hermit, but not in his general ability and trustworthiness as a historian. For a just estimate of William, see VON SYBEL, *l. c.* 108 sqq. (secd. ed.), and especially PRUTS, *Studien über Wilhelm v. Tyrus*, 1883, and his *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 458-459; also WAGENMANN in Herzog,² Vol. XVII., 138-'42.

ANNA COMNENA (1083-1148, daughter of Alexis I., emperor of Constantinople): *Alexias* or *Alexiad*. A biography of her father, in Greek, in the *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzantinæ*, Paris and Venice ed., Vol. XIII.; in the Bonn ed. by Reifferscheid, 1878. The portion which bears on Peter of Amiens and the First Crusade is also printed in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Grec*, Paris, 1873; and in Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit* pp. 303-314. The Greek princess charges the Latin princes with

using the conquest of Jerusalem as a pretext for the conquest of the Greek empire.

RADULPHUS CADOMENSIS: *De Gestis Tancredi*, in **MURATORI**, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Mediol. 1723-51, 25 Tom. in 28 vols. fol.), Tom. V. 285-333; and **BERNARDUS THESAURARIUS:** *De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*, *ibid.* Tom. VII. 664-848.

MATTHEW OF EDESSA: *Recit de la première croisade*, translated from the Armenian into French by *Edouard Delaurier*, Paris, 1850.

MICHAUD: *Bibliothèque des Croisades*. Paris, 1829. The fourth part is also published under the separate title: *Extraits des historiens Arabes relatifs aux guerres des croisades* par R. REINAUD.

Chronicles of the Crusades, London, 1848, comprises the contemporary narratives of the Crusades of Richard Cœur de Lion by **RICHARD OF DEVIZES** and **GODFREY DE VINCAUF**; and of the Crusade of Saint Louis by **LORD JOHN DE JOINVILLE**.

J. H. PETERMANN: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge aus Armenischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1860

Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Paris, 1844-'66, 3 vols. fol.

H. PRUTZ: *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Danzig, 1876.

Auxiliary information, geographical and historical, may be derived also from the reports of pilgrimages (peaceful crusades) to Palestine before, during, and after the Crusades. There are several collections: **COUNT RIAUT:** *Expeditions et pèlerinages des Scandinaves en Terre Sainte au temps des croisades*. Paris, 1865 and '67. **TITUS TOBLER** (d. 1871): *Pilgerreisen* (St. Gallen, 1865 sqq.); *Itinera et Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ lingua latina sæc. IV.-XI. exarata*, (Genev., 1877); *Bibliographia geographica Palæstinæ*, (Leipzig, 1867). **R. RÖHRICHT:** *Die Pilgerfahrten vor den Kreuzzügen*, 1875. **R. RÖHRICHT** and **H. MEISNER:** *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heil. Lande*. Berlin 1880 (from A. D. 1346-1588).

II. MODERN HISTORIES.

FRIEDRICH WILKEN (Libr. and Prof. in Berlin, d. 1840): *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Leipzig, 1807-'32, 7 vols. The most learned German work, still very valuable, especially in the later vols.

JOS. FR. MICHAUD (Member of the French Acad., d. 1839): *Histoire des Croisades*. Paris, 1812; 6th ed., 1840, 6 vols. *Bibliographie and Bibliothèque des Croisades*, in 4 Parts, Paris, 1829; added to the 5th and 6th editions of the *Histoire*. The best work in French. The History, without the bibliography and library, was poorly translated into English by *W. Robson*, Lond., 1854; reprinted N. York, 1880, in 3 vols.

G. Z. GRAY: *The Children's Crusade*. New York, 1870.

R. RÖHRICHT: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin, 1874, '78, 2 vols.

BERNH. KUGLER (Prof. in Tübingen): *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Berlin, 1880 (with illustrations).

A. DE LAPORTE: *Les Croisades et le pays latin de Jérusalem*. Paris, 1881.

HANS PRUTZ (Prof. of History in Königsberg): *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*.

Berlin, 1883 (642 pages). Partly from MS. sources of the Vatican and the Order of St. John in Malta.

Popular Histories by CHARLES MILLS (*Hist. of the Crusades*. London, 1822; 4th ed. 1828, 2 vols.); JOH. SPORSCHIL (*Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*. Leipzig, 1843, illustrated); THS. KNEIGHTLEY (*Hist. of the Crusades*, Lond., 1847); Major PROCTOR (*H. of the Crus.* illustrated, Lond. 1858; reprinted in Philad., 1854); W. E. DUTTON (*A Hist. of the Crus.*, London, 1877); JOHN G. EDGAR (*The Crusades and the Crusaders*, Lond., 1860); GEORGE W. COX (*The Crusades*, Lond. and N. York, 1878, 228 small pages).

III. The Crusades are described by GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*, Chs. LVIII-LXI.; HALLAM, *Middle Ages*, Ch. I., P. 1; MILMAN, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. VII. Ch., 6; GUIZOT, *History of Civilization* (Hazlitt's translation I. 149 sqq.); RAUMER, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen* (5th ed. Leipzig, 1878); GIESEBRECHT, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit* (4th ed. 1874 sqq.); RANKE, *Weltgeschichte*, Bd. VIII. (publ. 1887), pp. 86-111; 150-161; 223-262; 280-307. On the history of the Greeks in the age of the Crusades, see the works of FINLAY, *History of the Byzantine and Greek Empires from 1057 to 1453*, Edinb., 1854; HOPF, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters*, etc., Leipzig, 1868; and HERTZBERG, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, Gotha, 1877.

The Church Histories are meagre on this chapter.

IV. The poetry of the Crusades is represented chiefly by RAOUL DE CAEN, in *Gèstes de Tancredè*; TORQUATO TASSO, the Homer of the Crusades, in *La Jerusalemme liberata*, and by WALTER SCOTT in several novels, as "Tales of the Crusades;" "Ivanhoe;" "Quentin Durward;" "Count Robert of Paris," and "Castle Dangerous."

CHARACTER AND AIM OF THE CRUSADES.

The Crusades were armed pilgrimages to Jerusalem under the banner of the cross. They form one of the most salient and characteristic chapters of the Middle Ages, and have a romantic and sentimental, as well as a religious and military, interest. They exhibit the muscular Christianity of the new nations of the West which were just emerging from barbarism and heathenism. They made religion subservient to war, and war subservient to religion. They constitute the heroic age of the church; but it was the aggressive, warlike heroism of brute force, not the passive heroism of martyrdom, nor the moral heroism which secures victory by persuasion and conviction. We may compare it to the heroism of the Judges and the Maccabees in the history of Israel, and to the heroism of the Greeks

in the Trojan war. But the Crusades were on a much larger scale, and of longer duration. They were a succession of tournaments between two Continents and two religions, struggling for supremacy. Such a spectacle the world has never seen before or since, and will never see again.

The aim of the Crusades was the conquest of the Holy Land, the victory over Islam, the rule of Christian Europe in Asia. The cross was the badge and banner of the Crusades—hence the name. Enthusiasm for Christ was the moving power, but largely mixed with lower motives of ambition, avarice, love of adventure, hope of earthly and heavenly reward. The whole chivalry of Europe, aroused by a pale-faced monk and encouraged by a Hildebrandian pope, threw itself steel-clad upon the Orient to execute the vengeance of heaven upon the cruelties of Moslems against Christian pilgrims, and to rescue the grave of the Redeemer of mankind from the polluting grasp of the False Prophet of Mecca.

The Crusaders sought the living among the dead. They mistook the visible for the invisible, the terrestrial for the celestial, Jerusalem, and returned disappointed. They learned in Jerusalem that Christ was not there, that He is risen, and ascended to heaven as the head of a spiritual and eternal kingdom. They conquered and lost, they reconquered and lost again, the city in which Christ was crucified. It is impossible to convert false religions by violence; it can only be done by the slow but sure process of persuasion and conviction. Hatred kindles hatred, and those who take the sword will perish by the sword. St. Bernard learned from the failure of the second crusade, that it is better to struggle against the sinful lusts of the heart than to conquer Jerusalem. But the temporal loss was a spiritual gain and a blessing in disguise for future generations.

The Crusades were migrations of nations from the West to the East under the influence of religion—a counter-movement of the migrations from the East to the West under the impulse of plunder and conquest. They were upheavals of society from the depths of human nature, and reveal with striking plasticity the

general state of thought and feeling. The Middle Ages present unmitigated contrasts: the pope with the triple crown deposing kings and emperors, and the monk imitating the voluntary poverty of Christ; the robber-lord in his castle indulging his passions without restraint, and, close by, the hermit in the forest renouncing all gratifications of his natural desires; or the saintly nun striving to realize the ideal of an angel on earth, and, not far off, the witch who had sold her soul to Satan, and boasted of the bargain. We see the bishop riding in princely attire, and the begging monk and coarse peasant walking beside him. The mighty cathedrals, with spires rising to the clouds, are surrounded by miserable hovels. A fierce and adventurous spirit of war, inherited from barbaric ancestors, the invaders of Europe, was associated with a crushing and helpless feeling of repentance which found expression in the penitential trains of the Flagellants, and filled the convents to overflowing. And these contrasts, characteristic of life in general, reached far into individual life, which often suffered shipwreck in a horrible struggle between the unbaptized passions of the heart, and the new light which had dawned upon the conscience. We see many a wild career of hatred, revenge, rapacity and sensuality, ending in a bottomless abyss of remorse and despair.

Between these contrasts the crusades acted as a mediator, as a *novum salutis genus*. The passions remained, but they entered into the service of religion. A spring of reconciliation was discovered, and thousands precipitated themselves to drink of its water. "God," says the abbot Guibert, "invented the Crusades as a new way for the laity to atone for their sins, and to merit salvation."

The Crusades began and ended in France. The French element was the ruling factor, from Urban II. (who was a native of Chatillon near Rheims) and Peter of Amiens to Saint Louis. The French are a mercurial, impulsive and generous nation, and enthusiastic for enterprises which promise glory and reward. Besides them, Italians, chiefly the Normans in Southern Italy, Germans, chiefly from Lorraine, and Englishmen took

a prominent part. Spain had a crusade of her own against the Moors, who were finally expelled from Granada under Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, and then she entered upon a new kind of crusade against Jews and heretics at home, and heathen Indians in Cuba, Mexico, and Peru.

Emperors and kings led the expeditions; the popes stayed at home, but were represented in the army by legates, and acted as the power behind the throne.

PILGRIMAGES TO THE HOLY LAND.

The legends of the disinterment of the true cross, and the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre in the beginning of the fourth century, directed the devotional feelings of Christendom to the Holy Land. Constantine's mother, Helena, built a magnificent church over the Holy Sepulchre, and pilgrims began to direct their steps to Jerusalem. Several of the Fathers, such as Gregory of Nyssa, Augustin, and even Jerome, discouraged this movement and emphasized, with perfect truth, that man is no nearer to God in Jerusalem than in any other place, and that a holy life may be led in any part of the world. But these warnings had no effect. Every religion has its shrines; a desire to worship at these shrines is inherent in human nature, and the devotion, kindled by the actual presence of such divine remembrances, may be genuine and helpful. St. Jerome himself, with some pious ladies of Rome, spent his last years and performed his last works close by the Cave of the Nativity at Bethlehem. There he translated and explained the Scriptures, chanted the Psalter, taught monks and nuns, corresponded with distant friends, entertained the ever-increasing swarms of pilgrims, and prepared for eternity. The effect of his example was equal to his great reputation.

Once started, the movement steadily grew in extent and intensity. The Holy Land became to the imagination a land of wonders, filled with the divine presence of Christ. To have visited that land, to have seen Jerusalem, to have bathed in the Jordan, cast a halo of glory about a man. And as the pil-

grimage was connected with considerable difficulties and dangers, it became to the troubled conscience of a burdened soul a means of expiation.

So great was the multitude of pilgrims which annually visited Palestine, that special laws were enacted in their behalf, and public establishments founded for the comfort. Charlemagne ordered that they should every where in his realm be provided with lodging, fire, and water. Gregory the Great built a huge caravansary for their reception in Jerusalem. Hospitals and other beneficent institutions were erected by private piety all along the main route.

Special circumstances now and then added new impulses to the movement, such as the wide-spread belief that the world should come to an end in the year 1000; the high price which relics from Palestine brought in western Europe; the exemptions from toll which the pilgrims enjoyed, and which enabled them to start a very profitable commerce in silk, paper, spices, and other products of the East.

In this lively intercourse between Palestine and the Latin world, the conquest of Jerusalem in 637 by Caliph Omar made no serious interruptions. The Saracens were a more civilized people than either the Franks or the Goths; they considered Jerusalem one of their own holy cities, and treated it accordingly; pilgrimages were with them a sacred custom, and, by paying a small tribute, the Christian pilgrims were allowed to come and go without hindrance. Haroun al-Rashid, the most famous caliph of the Abbassides, even sent the keys of the Holy Sepulchre to Charlemagne, his great contemporary in the west, and thus secured the safety of the Christian pilgrims.

In 980 Syria and Palestine passed from the possession of the Caliph of Bagdad into that of the Sultan of Egypt, and Hakim, the third ruler of the Fatimide dynasty and a fanatical Mohammedan, began, in 1010, a fierce persecution of the Christian residents of Palestine and the Christian pilgrims. The trouble, however, was short and transient.

CAUSES OF THE CRUSADES.

In 1076 the Holy Land was conquered by the Seljukian Turks, a rough and savage race, newly converted to Islamism, and like all young converts, fanatical beyond measure. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed; the Christian inhabitants of the country were massacred or sold as slaves; of the stream of pilgrims which steadily poured into Palestine from western Europe, only a few stragglers returned, and these were not, as formerly, loaded with relics and sacred memorials, but covered with wounds and broken in spirit and body from the cruelties to which they had been exposed.

These barbarous cruelties of the Turks were the immediate cause of the Crusades. The suffering of pilgrims excited everywhere sympathy and pity. The fact that Turks should possess the Holy Land, while Christians were excluded, roused the indignation of Europe. In touching the springs of action these feelings stirred up the passions of the age, and produced a tremendous explosion. War was still the profession, the business, the glory of every free man in western Europe; he knew no other occupation. The wild roving of whole nations from one end of the continent to the other had ceased, and everywhere the state was engaged in consolidating, and developing social organization; but as yet things were not settled, and pictures of daring adventures and warlike exploits were still floating before the imagination. The organized campaigns for robbery and piracy had ceased, and everywhere the Church was active in substituting the law for the feud; but as yet the principle of honor which ruled man's conscience was that of self-revenge. The Church had labored hard, and not without success, to transform the pagan viking into a Christian knight. From the beginning of the tenth century the investment with knighthood was accompanied with religious rites. The knight had begun to feel himself as the warrior of Christ, and thus the Crusade represented itself to the eyes of the Middle Ages, not only as the greatest duty, but also as the highest ideal.

Other elements active in creating and propagating this grand movement of the Crusades, will become apparent from the narrative of the events.

NUMBER OF CRUSADES.

There are at least seven (some number nine) Crusades, besides the Children's Crusade, and one or two which failed in the start. They are marked by the years 1096, (1101), 1147, 1189, (1197), 1204, 1228, 1248, 1270. The most important and successful was the first (1096-'99), which ended with the conquest of Jerusalem. The second (1147-'49) was inspired by St. Bernard, but proved a disastrous failure. The third (1189) was occasioned by the fall of Jerusalem (1187), and rendered famous by Frederick Barbarossa, Richard Cœur de Lion, and Saladin. The fourth (1204) was a conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of a Latin empire, which lasted nearly half a century (1261), and intensified the bitter feeling of the Greeks against Rome. The fifth embraces the expeditions from 1212-'30, in which the Popes Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Emperor Frederick II. are the leading figures. The sixth and seventh (or eighth and ninth) crusades of 1248 and 1270 were complete failures. They derive their chief interest from Saint Louis IX., of France, who revived the spirit of Godfrey of Bouillon, but met with disaster and died of the plague at Tunis in sight of the ruins of Carthage (Aug. 25, 1270), with unclouded trust in God, as expressed in his last utterance: "I will enter thy house, O Lord; I will worship in thy sanctuary." He was the truest and the purest of the crusaders, a wise, just, magnanimous and conscientious ruler, and a saint of the mediæval type, devout, superstitious, charitable and intolerant, adoring the cross on his knees and looking with composure at the torture of heretics. He defended the rights of the laity and defended the liberties of the Gallican Church, and, by the famous Pragmatic Sanction (1259), he forbade the Roman curia to levy money on France without royal consent. Nevertheless he was canonized by Boniface VIII. (in

1297).¹ With him died the enthusiasm for the Crusades. Several attempts of the popes to revive it proved abortive.

Jerusalem was conquered, 1099, lost, 1187, reconquered, 1229, finally lost, 1244, and still groans, with all the lands of the Bible, under the degrading bondage of the Turks.

PETER THE HERMIT.

On Peter the Hermit and the entire history of the First Crusade, see, besides the general works quoted above, the following modern treatises:

HEINRICH VON SYBEL: *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, Düsseldorf, 1841 (551 pp.); second ed. 1881 (slightly improved, 468 pp.). This work which originated in the historical exercises of Ranke, 1837, marks an epoch by its critical method of research and a careful examination of all the sources. Comp. *The History and Literature of the Crusades. From the German of von Sybel, ed. by Lady DUFF GORDON*, London, 1861. The first part is a translation of Sybel's four lectures on the Crusades delivered in March, 1855; the second part is a translation of the literary introduction to Sybel's History of the First Crusade (first ed.).

J. F. A. PEYRÉ: *Histoire de la première Croisade*. Paris, 1859.

H. HAGENMEYER: *Peter der Eremit*, Leipzig, 1879 (401 pp.). This is the first critical biography of Peter, including the contemporary records (pp. 301 sqq.). The older biographies, by P. P. D' OULTREMAN (1645), VION (Amiens, 1853), and LÉON PAULET (Paris, 1856), are largely legendary.

Peter the Hermit is the reputed originator of the first Crusade. His life has been embellished by Albertus Aquensis, William of Tyre, and later monastic historians, with romantic legends which cannot stand the test of examination. Modern criticism has sifted the facts from fiction, and reduced him to a secondary position in that movement. He was not the author of the Crusades. That honor belongs to the Pope. But he was the chief among the many pilgrims of his age who brought home the tales of their sufferings in the East, and fired the popular heart for the first crusade. His speeches in behalf of the Crusades were listened to as divine messages. He was more highly esteemed than any person of his age.²

¹ Joinville, *Histoire de St. Louis*, ed. by Natalie de Wailly (Paris, 1873); Tillemont, *Histoire de St. Louis*; Guizot, *Histoire de quatre grands Chrétiens français* (Paris, 1873).

² "Neminem meminero similem honore haberi," says Guibert, who attended the Council of Clermont, and saw and heard him. Bongars, 32, 56. Hagenmeyer, 120 sq.

Peter was born, according to the popular story, at Amiens, in the province of Picardy, first served in the army of Eustace of Bouillon, his feudal lord, but then gave up all worldly aspirations, and retired to a monastery. Hence he retreated into a neighboring wilderness where he lived as an anchorite. Finally he entered upon a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, some years before the First Crusade.¹ Here he not only witnessed, but experienced himself, the indignities and cruelties to which the Christians were exposed under the sway of the Seljukian Turks. The patriarch, Simeon of Jerusalem, and Christ himself, who appeared to him in a dream, urged him to rouse all Europe to a war for the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre.

According to Albert's account, Christ appeared to Peter in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after he had fallen asleep, and said to him: "Peter, dearest son, arise, go to the patriarch and take from him the letter of my commission. Tell your countrymen of the miseries of the holy places and rouse their hearts, that they purify Jerusalem, and deliver the saints from the hands of the heathen. For the gates of paradise are open to those whom I have chosen and called." According to William of Tyre,² Peter had first an interview with the patriarch, and asked from him letters to the Pope, and the kings of the West. Then Christ appeared to him in a dream, after a night spent in prayer, and told him: "Peter, arise and hasten to fulfil thy mission without fear; for I shall be with thee. It is high time that the sanctuary be purged, and my servants be helped (*ut purgentur sancta, et servis meis subveniantur*)." Visions and dreams figure largely in the first crusade, especially the vision of the holy lance, which was discovered during the siege of Antioch in June, 1098, and decided the victory over Kerbogah. This instrument, which pierced the side of the Saviour, was buried beneath the altar of St. Peter's Church at Antioch, and

¹ The contemporary historians give no date; later reports vary between 1060 and 1065. See Hagenmeyer, p. 88, note.

² Bk. I., chs. 11 and 12.

was revealed by St. Andrew to an humble person, Peter Bartholomew of Provence.

But the silence of Anna Comnena, and other contemporary reports, make it, at least, doubtful whether Peter reached Jerusalem on his first journey to the East. If he did not, the vision of Christ and the interview with the patriarch must be regarded as legends of a later age.¹

On his return to Europe, Peter presented himself before Pope Urban II., who was deeply impressed with the fiery enthusiasm of the hermit, and promised him support in his enterprise.

Thus provided with divine confirmation of his mission, Peter set out on a tour through France and Italy to preach the first crusade. Small and haggard, and with visible traces of the severest ascetic exercises; bare-footed and bare-headed, mounted on an ass and holding aloft a huge cross with his hands, he presented the appearance just fit to strike the popular imagination. Immense crowds gathered around him whenever he stopped to preach, on the roadside, or in the market-place, or from the steps of the church-door. Still more impressive was his eloquence, spasmodic and uncouth, but flaming with living fire, and lighting everything it struck. When he described the sufferings inflicted on the children of God by God's enemies, and explained the duty of taking up the cause of God against the power of Satan, the crowds bowed down before him, half in horror and half in rapture, and the frenzy of his own soul spread like an epidemic from town to town, from country to country.²

¹ So von Sybel, pp. 195 sqq., and especially Hagenmeyer, pp. 53-85, and 314-330. But the argument from silence is not conclusive. Anna Comnena, besides misconstruing the motives of the crusaders, makes several mistakes, and confounds Peter the Hermit once with Adhemar of Puy and once with Petrus Bartholomeus. See Hagenmeyer, p. 313, notes. She also makes the most exaggerated statement that Peter, on his second journey, arrived at Constantinople with an army of 80,000 horsemen and 100,000 footmen.

² William of Tyre (I. 11) thus describes the hermit: "*Pusillus, persona contemptibilis, vivacis ingenii, et oculum habens perspicacem gratumque, et sponte fluens ei non deerat eloquium.*" See other descriptions of contemporary writers in Hagenmeyer, pp. 114 sqq.

That Peter, on his return from the Orient, roused Europe by his speeches is confirmed by all contemporary reports, including that of Anna Comnena; but his acquaintance with the Pope probably dated from the Synod of Clermont, and he made his preaching tour through France, Lorraine and along the Rhine after that Synod in the winter from 1095 to 1096.¹

URBAN II. AND THE SYNOD OF CLERMONT.

VON SYBEL, pp. 183 sqq. HEFELE, V. 215-240.

The idea of an organized expedition of Christian Europe for the reconquest of the Holy Land, where our Lord and Saviour accomplished our redemption, originated with the revival of the Papacy, and grew with its power. Sylvester II. (999-1002) first suggested it at the close of the first millennium, but prematurely.

Gregory VII. resumed the project more seriously, and was ready to head an army of fifty thousand crusaders for the protection of the Greek empire, with the ulterior object of making it subject to the dominion of St. Peter. The last was the main point with him. He issued a call to Christendom for this purpose, March 1, and again December 16, 1074; but his quarrel with Henry IV. prevented the execution.²

This was left to his second successor, Urban II. He was urgently requested by the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, to come to his aid against the invading Turks. The forward movement which Islam made in Asia Minor, in North Africa, in Sicily, and in Spain, threatened Christendom with a dangerous crisis. Urban took up the idea of Hildebrand with the same hope of uniting the Orient and the Occident under the dominion of the Holy See.

¹ Sybel, 198 sqq.; Hagenmeyer, 86 sqq. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, V. 233 (2d ed. 1886), agrees substantially with them. Hagenmeyer admits as very probable that Peter attended the Council of Clermont, but regards his rousing speech there as a fiction (pp. 103 sq.).

² He repeatedly refers to such a project in letters to Henry IV., Count William of Burgundy, Count William of Poitiers, and in two encyclicals, all from the year 1074. See Hefele, V. 38 sq., and Sybel, pp. 168 sq.

In the month of March, 1095, Urban called a council at Piacenza, mostly consisting of Italian prelates. The ambassadors of Alexius Comnenus were present, and addressed the assembly, though with no great effect. The council was only a preparation for that which followed in November of the same year at Clermont (Claromonte), the capital of Auvergne in France. The year 1095 was a year of famine and pestilence, and called men to serious reflections.

The Synodus Claromontana lasted eight days, and comprised an immense number of ecclesiastics and laymen of all ranks from Italy, France and Germany. On the day of the opening there were counted fourteen archbishops, two hundred and fifty bishops, and four hundred abbots. Thousands of tents were pitched outside of the walls.¹

This synod is the mother of the Crusades. On the ninth day of the session, the Pope addressed the multitude from an elevated platform raised in the open air. It was the happiest moment, the world-historical occasion for Urban. His speech was the most effective sermon ever preached by a pope, or any other man; it roused the deepest enthusiasm; it resounded throughout all Europe, and its effects were felt for centuries to come. He probably spoke in the Provencal tongue which was his vernacular, but we have only Latin reports.² When we remember the general character of the crowd which stood listening around the platform, we cannot wonder at the response. There was not an idea in the brain of his hearers, not a passion in their hearts, to which Urban II. did not appeal. He quoted passages from the Psalms and the Prophets about the glory of Jerusalem, and the duty to remember her. He predicted that God Himself would lead his soldiers across mountains and rivers, feed them with bread and manna, and crown them with

¹ We have no complete acts of the Synod, but several documents and scattered reports of chroniclers. See the collections of Mansi, Harduin, and Labbe; also Hefle V. 220 sqq.; Pflugk-Harttung, *Acta Pontif. inedita* II, 161; and Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontif. Rom.*, p. 681.

² In three forms, by Willian of Tyre, William of Malmesbury, and in a Vatican MS.

victory; yea, he added, "the wealth of your enemies shall be yours; you shall plunder their treasures." He offered plenary indulgence to all who with pure motives embarked in the undertaking, and promised that any one who fell in the field, and died in true repentance, should reap eternal reward in heaven.¹

The answer was the unanimous cry: "God wills it, God wills it!"²

"It is," added the Pope, "it is indeed the will of God. Let these words be your war-cry when you unsheath your sword against the enemy. You are soldiers of the cross: wear, then, on your breasts, or on your shoulders, the blood-red sign of Him who died for the salvation of your souls. Wear it as a token that His help will never fail you: wear it as the pledge of a vow which can never be recalled."

These words were the sound of the trumpet of war against the Turks for the glory of Christ. Thousands at once made the vow, and sewed the red cross on their garments.³ Many more thousands throughout Europe followed the example, as soon as the report of the speech of the Pope, or of the hermit reached their ears. In a few months, whole armies were ready to march against the enemies of the cross.

The motives were very different. Pure and noble enthusiasm for Christ was the strongest and deepest motive. But multitudes were influenced in whole, or in part, by vulgar superstition, or love of adventure, glory, and gain. Plenary indulgence was

¹ According to William of Tyre, who gives a lively sketch of Urban's speech, lib. I. c. 14, Urban said: "*Nos autem de misericordia Domini, et beat. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum auctoritate confisi, fidelibus Christianis, qui contra eos arma susceperint, et onus sibi huius peregrinationis assumerint, injunctas sibi pro suis delictis penitentias relaxamus. Qui autem ibi in vera penitentia decesserint, et peccatorum indulgentiam et fructum æternæ mercedis se non dubitent habituros.*" The Synod confirmed this promise, *Cum. Claramontanus II.* (in Mansi XX. 816): "*Quicumque pro sua devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniæ adeptione, ad liberandam Hierosolim Dei Jerusalem projectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni penitentia [et] requiescat.*"

² Deus vult: Deus vult: Deus vult: Deus vult.

³ In the first crusade all the crosses were red; afterwards green and white colors came also into use.

offered to every penitent crusader; the debtor escaped his creditor, the convict the arm of justice, the serf the oppression of his feudal lord. An intoxicated feeling of freedom, yea, a wild craving for license was let loose. The feudal chieftain looked for the excitement of war, which was his favorite, perhaps his only, occupation, or for vast and permanent conquests, like those which Robert Guiscard and his Normans had won in Apulia and Sicily. The merchants and usurers favored the movement; for their losses in ordinary trade were more than made up by the gains from the sale of arms and horses at exorbitant prices, and from the purchase of mortgaged lands far below their value. Kings strengthened their power, in the absence of the nobles, by the absorption of the smaller into larger fiefs, and of these again into the royal domain. The chief promoter and gainer was the Pope himself, who superintended the crusaders by his legates, exercised the tremendous power of absolution, and acquired the protectorate of the temporal dominions of the crusading princes for the benefit of the Church.

THE FIRST CRUSADE AND THE CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM.

PETER THE HERMIT.

*Canto l' armi pietose e'l capitano,
Che 'l gran sepolcro liberò di Cristo.
Molto egli oprò col senno e con la mano,
Molto soffrì nel glorioso acquisto
E invan l' inferno a lui s'oppose, e invano
S' armò d' Asia e di Libia il popol misto;
Chè il ciel gli die' favore, e sotto ai santi
Segni ridusse i suoi compagni erranti.*

—TORQUATO TASSO (Canto I. 1).

The fifteenth of August, 1096 (the Feast of the Assumption), had been fixed by the Council of Clermont for the departure of the crusaders; but the excitement was too strong; people could not wait. Early in the spring immense crowds of both sexes and all ages gathered together in Lorraine, and demanded of Peter, the Hermit, that he should immediately lead them to

Jerusalem. The crowd comprised a mixed multitude of enthusiasts, fanatics, knaves, idlers, and silly people, without discipline, organization, or preparation of any kind. The peasant placed his wife and children on a cart drawn by oxen, and thus went out to fight the Turk. When the crowd had swelled to some sixty thousand, it was necessary to divide it.

The first division comprising about twenty thousand under the lead of a Burgundian knight, Walter the Penniless,¹ marched safely through Hungary, but was completely cut up and destroyed in the Bulgarian forests; only the leader, and a few stragglers, reached Constantinople.

The second division, comprising more than forty thousand, under the lead of the Hermit himself, marched through Hungary, provided with all necessaries by the Hungarian king, and guarded by the Hungarian army. But when they reached the Bulgarian frontier they found one continuous streak of blood and fire, robbery and massacre, marking out the route of their predecessors. A spirit of excess and revenge seized the undisciplined host. They attacked Zemlin, and again Nissa, but in both places they were repulsed with fearful slaughter, and only a remnant of seven thousand finally reached Constantinople in a most pitiful condition (July, 1096). Here they were well treated by the emperor Alexius, and transferred by his aid across the Bosphorus to Asia, where they should wait for the arrival of the regular army; but they preferred to spread, marauding and plundering, through the rich provinces. Finally, a false rumor that the vanguard had captured Nicæa, the capital of the Turks in Asia Minor, allured them down into the plain of Nicæa; but they were surrounded and massacred by the Turkish cavalry, and their bones were piled into a ghastly pyramid—the first monument of the crusaders. Walter had fallen in the battle, but Peter the Hermit had fled back to Constantinople before the battle began.

A third swarm, mostly consisting of Germans, and comprising about fifteen thousand, under the lead of a German monk,

¹ *W. Sinehabere, Senzavehor, Sansavoir, Habenichts.*

Gottschalk, was closely watched, and at last massacred by the Hungarians at Belgrade.

A fourth swarm, comprising more than two hundred thousand men, women and children, from various countries, was led by banners with the likeness of a goose and a goat) which were considered as bearers of the divine Spirit. Three thousand horsemen, headed by some noblemen, attended them, and shared their spoils. They began their expedition by robbing and murdering the Jews in all the rich commercial places along the Rhine and the Danube, holding them personally responsible for the crucifixion.¹ When they arrived at the Hungarian frontier they had to encounter a regular army. A panic seized them, and a frightful carnage took place.

These preliminary expeditions of the first Crusade cost about three hundred thousand lives.

The regular army of the Crusaders consisted, according to the lowest calculations, of more than 300,000, and was divided into six divisions under several leaders. Adhemar (Aymer), bishop of Puy, the papal legate, was the first among the clergy to assume the cross, and had a sort of spiritual supervision of the whole army.² The military leaders were Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace; Hugh, count of Vermandois, a brother of King Philip I., of France; Robert, duke of Normandy, the eldest son of William the Conqueror; Raymond, count of Toulouse, a veteran warrior, who had a hundred thousand horse and foot at his command, and enjoyed a mingled reputation for wealth, wisdom, pride, and greed; Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum and son of Robert Guiscard; his cousin Tancred, the model

¹ Mannheimer, *Die Judenverfolgungen in Speier, Worms und Mainz im Jahre 1096, während des ersten Kreuzzuges*, Darmsbadt, 1877. Hagenmeyer, p. 139, clears Peter of Amiens of the shameful glory of initiating this *Judenhetze*, and claims it for Count Esnich of Leiningen, and his mob, who began it at Mainz, May 27, 1096.

² Gibbon calls him "a respectable prelate alike qualified for this world and the next."

cavalier; Robert, Count of Flanders, surnamed "the Sword and Lance of the Christians"; Stephen, Count of Chartres, Troyes, and Blois, the owner of 365 castles. These, and many others, constituted the strength and beauty of the French and Italian nobility.

The moral hero of the First Crusade is Godfrey of Bouillon.¹ He was a descendant of Charlemagne, in the female line, and deserved the first rank in war and council, but had no definite command, and was merely *primus inter pares*. He had fought in the war of Emperor Henry IV. against the rebel King Rudolph of Swabia, whom he slew in the battle of Mōlsen (1080); he was the first to mount the walls of Rome, and forced Hildebrand to flee; but, by assuming the crusading vow, he placed himself on the side of Urban II. He mediated between the Germans and French, and spoke the languages of both. He had prodigious physical strength; with one blow of his sword he clove asunder a horseman from head to saddle. He was as humble and pious as brave, and took the cross for the single purpose of rescuing Jerusalem from the hands of infidels. He waived his prowess, and bent his pride to the general aim. In secular matters he was inferior to Bohemond and Raymond. Contemporary historians call him a holy monk in military armor and ducal ornament. His purity and disinterestedness was acknowledged by his rivals.

Tancred, his intimate friend, likewise engaged from pure motives in the enterprise. He is the poetic hero of the first Crusade, and nearly approached the standard of "the gentle and perfect Knight" of Chaucer. He distinguished himself at Nicaea, Dorylaeum, Antioch, and was one of the first to climb the walls of Jerusalem. In the carnage which followed, he, almost alone among the Christian knights, showed the spirit of mercy, and saved thousands of the captured, at the risk of his

¹ Bouillon (not to be confounded with Boulogne-sur-Mère, on the English Channel) is a town in Belgian Luxemburg, and was formerly the capital of the lordship of Bouillon which Godfrey mortgaged to the bishop of Liège in 1055. It belongs to Belgium since 1831.

own life. He died in Antioch, 1112. His deeds were celebrated by Raoul de Caen and Torquato Tasso.¹

The several divisions marched at different times, and along various routes, to meet at Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius, who had so urgently solicited the aid of Western Europe, became alarmed when he saw the hosts arrive. He wished to reap the benefit, without sharing the risks, of the Crusade. He began to tremble for himself, and took good care to transfer each division to Asia before the next one arrived. The selfish jealousy and greed of the leaders became, day by day, more manifest, and retarded and diminished the success of the enterprise. The hardships and privations were terrible; nevertheless, the army pressed slowly forward.

Nicæa was taken June 19, 1097, and the Turks were routed at Doryleum in Phrygia, July 4. But it took a whole year before Antioch in Syria was captured, June 28, 1098, and still another year before Jerusalem was conquered, July 15, 1099. During the siege of Antioch, the ranks of the crusaders were decimated by famine, pestilence, and desertion, and immediately after the capture of the city they were besieged themselves by an army of about 200,000 Mohammedans under Kerboga.

After the fall of Nicæa, Baldwin, a brother of Godfrey, went with one detachment to Edessa, where he established himself, and began to operate on his own account. After the fall of Antioch, Bohemond did the same in that place. Others followed the example, and out of the immense army which arrived in Asia, only 20,000 reached Jerusalem.²

When they came in sight of the holy city, the fierce warriors fell on their knees, kissed the earth, laid aside their armor, and advanced as pilgrims, with sighs and tears and penitential hymns.

The siege lasted five weeks, and was marked by all the hor-

¹ Gibbon: "In the accomplished character of Tancred we discover all the virtues of a perfect knight, the true spirit of chivalry, which inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man far better than the base philosophy, or the baser religion, of the times."

² The figures differ. See Sybel, p. 412.

rors of savage warfare. After the capture, the Mohammedan population was massacred to the extent of more than seventy thousand; the Jews were burnt in their synagogues. When the crusaders went bare-footed to the place of the Holy Sepulchre to offer up their prayers and thanks, they were wading in blood.¹

The Christians entered Jerusalem on a Friday at three in the afternoon, the day and hour of the crucifixion. This should have inspired them with sentiments of mercy, but it only enflamed their fanatical hatred of the enemies of the cross.

After the acts of devotion at the reputed tomb of the Saviour, another deliberate massacre followed, and men, women, and children, who had retreated to the Mosque of Omar, were mowed down in the delirium of fanaticism and vengeance. Neither the tears of women, nor the cries of infants, nor the protests of Tancred, who was concerned for the honor of chivalry, could soften or restrain the ferocity of the conquerors. The Saracen prisoners were forced to clean the city, and to save it from pestilential diseases. "They wept," says Robert the Monk, "and transported the carcasses out of Jerusalem."

The contemporary historians recite these scenes of barbaric cruelty without excuse, and without an expression of horror or pity. They saw in it only the righteous judgment of God over his enemies. Such was the piety of the Crusaders!

The spirit of the Middle Ages combined, among other striking contrasts, self-denying charity to Catholic Christians with heartless cruelty to infidels, Jews, and heretics. It was the spirit of the Old Testament rather than that of the New. It followed the rule: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy," and forgot the law of Christ: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you."

A week later Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen King of Jerusalem. He accepted the office, but refused the title; he was

¹ Raymond d'Agiles reports, with incredible exaggeration, that in the temple and portico of Solomon the blood reached to the knees of the riders and the bridles of the horses (*usque ad genua et usque ad frænos equorum*).

unwilling to "wear a crown of gold where his Saviour had worn a crown of thorns." He called himself simply the Defender of the Holy Sepulchre. He founded a monastery in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, died in Jerusalem July 18, 1100, and was buried on Calvary. He was succeeded by his brave brother Baldwin I., who accepted the title of King of Jerusalem.

Most of the other leaders returned home, weary and disappointed.

Among those who returned, was also Peter the Hermit. The closing incident of his connection with the Crusades is an address he delivered to the victorious army on Mount Olivet, and the homage offered to him. He founded a monastery at Huy in the diocese of Liège, in honor of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and died July 8, 1115. A statue of Peter was erected on the Place Saint Michael at Amiens, June 29, 1854. It represents him as a monk, preaching the crusade, with a rosary suspended on his girdle, holding a cross in his right hand, the left on his breast.¹

¹ There are several pictures of Peter, of which Hagenmeyer gives an account, pp. 116 and 300. Some of his admirers pulled the hairs out of his donkey and kept them as relics.

II.

FAITH AND WORKS.

BY PROFESSOR EML. V. GERHART, D.D.

I.—CHRISTIAN FREEDOM.

BORN of the Spirit into the kingdom, and at peace with God by faith, the members of Christ live in the sphere of freedom. Their freedom is twofold.

On the one hand they are emancipated from the dominion of sin. "Our old man was crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be done away, that so we should no longer be in bondage to sin."* On the other hand, the members of Christ become active in the Truth and for the Truth. The Truth is both the principle and the end of their life. "We were buried with Him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life."† "Present yourselves unto God as alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God."‡

Such a life bears fruit in good works. Works are the words spoken and the things done by man, a moral agent. The moral quality of works is derived from the moral quality of personality. It is the man that forms the character.

Both in the Old and the New Testament a person is compared to a tree. Says our Lord: Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but the corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."§

* Rom. 6: 6.

† Rom. 6: 4.

‡ Rom. 6: 13.

§ Matt. 7: 17, 18; cf. Ps. 1: 3; Gen. 17: 8.

A living member of the "true Vine" will in speech and in conduct bear the fruits of the Vine.

The spiritual status of the man conditions the genius of his words and deeds. If the man be "rooted and grounded" in the love of Christ, his works may be good; good, inasmuch as Christian love energizes and animates them. In turn, works inspired and sustained by Christian love exert a reactionary influence on the character of the man. Love, active according to its own law, becomes more mature and more fruitful. The person becomes better for the good works which he does.

The reverse order involves a false conception of works. Works that are good react upon the man who is good. But in the first instance the works do not condition the character of the man. It cannot be said that the works must be good in order that the man may become good. The fruit does not condition the tree; but the tree the fruit. Fruit reveals and expresses the species and the life of the tree.

In answer to the question: Whether it be necessary that the believer, a person justified by faith alone, do good works? the unqualified answer must be given in the affirmative. Good works are necessary, not that he may make amends for his sins and obtain forgiveness, but because amends have been made by the Mediator, and he has received forgiveness; not that he may gain the approval of God, but because he has God's approval; not, in other words, that he may become righteous before God, but because, being a member of Christ by faith, he is righteous. Righteous in Christ, righteous by faith working through love, possessing the peace that passeth all understanding, he must, of inward necessity, live a righteous life. It will be his meat and drink to do the will of his Father which is in heaven.

A scriptural conception respecting the good works of a Christian presupposes the truth of the doctrine of justification by faith alone, without the works of the law. Believers are approved of God to the end that they may live an approved life. They are justified of free grace without any merits of

their own to the end that "the ordinance of the law might be fulfilled in them." * Without self-inspired works they are righteous in Christ that they may do God-inspired works. For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit.†

What are good works? An answer at once scriptural, comprehensive and concise is given by the Heidelberg Catechism, which says: Good works are "those which are done from true faith, according to the Law of God, for His glory; and not such as rest on our own opinion or the commandments of men." ‡ This proposition embraces three things: 1. The source or principle of good works; 2. The criterion or standard of moral judgment; 3. The ultimate end. Works are in the evangelical sense good that unite these three elements. Such works proceed from faith in Christ; the law of God has for them regulative force, and the manifestation of God is the end for which works are done.

II.—WORKS DONE FROM TRUE FAITH.

Good works have a principle, a living fountain in personality from which they flow. This principle is not human will, but true faith in Jesus Christ by whom human will is inspired and governed.

Words spoken and deeds done that are morally good pre-suppose the free action of the human will; but not the action of will divorced from its fundamental law.

Freedom is the product of two factors: Of the divine Law, and of volition; the one being objective, the other subjective. Moral law, the expression of the authority of God's righteous love, is the truth for human personality. Truth is the fundamental warrant and condition of freedom. The noblest truth conditions the noblest freedom. The Truth from which all truths derive their truthfulness and their worth is the Son of God incarnate. This rank He claims for Himself: 'I am the

* Rom. 8: 4.

† Rom. 8: 5.

‡ H. C'm. 91.

Truth.' Therefore respecting freedom He says: If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.*

The Son does not make a man free mechanically, or magically. Free a man becomes when he chooses the Son, when by the act of his own will he accepts as the fundamental law of his life the Truth which the incarnate Son is. Appropriating the Truth to himself by his voluntary act, he and the objective Truth become ethically one. By the right action of will the Truth possesses and is possessed by personality. Then the Truth lives in the man, and is the controlling principle of moral action. Only from this principle proceed works that in the Christian sense are really good.

All moral action, whether good or bad, is voluntary. Wrong-doing, no less than right doing, pre-supposes the self-determined act of the will. We have to distinguish between pure volition and freedom. In choosing to do wrong the will, correctly speaking, is not free. Voluntary the act is; but no more. In choosing the wrong or the false, the will becomes enslaved. For falsehood and wrong violate the immanent law of personality. Says our Lord: "Every one that committeth sin is the bond-servant of sin."† Personality is constituted for doing and knowing truth and right. Like light for the eye, like bread for the body, the True and the Right are the necessary food of personality. When the objective Truth and Right are appropriated by volition and conduct personality is nourished by the only aliment which qualifies personality to realize its ideal. It becomes true by appropriating the Truth; it becomes right by doing the Right; it becomes free by taking in and living on the contents of freedom.

In one respect, therefore, it is not Christian to say good works proceed from human will. If the action of will be divorced from Jesus Christ, the objective Truth, no good works proceed from human will. The position and relations of personality being abnormal, all words spoken and all deeds done are wanting in the essential quality of Christian goodness. Such

* John 8: 36.

† John 8: 34.

words and deeds are by 'Hebrews' pronounced 'dead works;'^{*} they are wanting alike in divine life and in ideal human life. Paul calls them 'the unfruitful works of darkness.'[†] Inspired by the kingdom of Evil, they are not the genuine fruit of personality.

In another respect, however, good works do proceed from the human will. Voluntary action is essential. If, receiving the Son, a person is made free by virtue of the Truth, his will becomes active according to the law of Truth. Then words spoken and deeds done, though imperfect when judged by the 'perfect law of liberty,'[‡] partake of the quality of Christian truth, and so far forth they are good fruit, growing on 'a good tree.'

Faith is the organ of the Christian soul. Like the eye, faith sees the Truth; like the hand, it lays hold of and cleaves to the Truth; like the mouth, faith feeds on the Truth. It is the organ by which Jesus Christ becomes one with personality, and personality derives from Him the disposition and the power to do the good. He says in His sacerdotal prayer: The glory which Thou hast given Me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected into one.[§] In another place He says: I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in Me, and I in him the same beareth much fruit: for apart from Me ye can do nothing.|| Apart from Him no one bears the fruit of good works; He is the original motive of all genuine goodness.

True faith is the only subjective principle of good works inasmuch as Christ through the Spirit becomes the new life of personality only when the believer by the responsive act of his will accepts Christ as the law of moral action. Then, emancipated from the condemnation of sin and living in the peace of God, he breathes the exhilarating atmosphere of spiritual freedom. Moved from within by the love of righteousness he takes

^{*} Heb. 9: 14.

[†] Eph. 5: 11.

[‡] James 1: 25.

[§] John 17: 22, 23.

|| John 15: 5.

“delight in the law of the Lord,” as the bodily eye rejoices in the light of the sun, or the ear in the harmonies of music, or as a dutiful son glories in the service of his mother. So far from making good works the ground of a claim upon God, the works of the believer are an offering of thankfulness for the great grace which has accepted him through faith in Christ “apart from the works of the law.” His “great recompense of reward” * consists in doing the will of his Father in heaven.

III.—WORKS DONE ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF GOD.

The believer needs a critical standard of judgment. The question arises: What words, what deeds are right? What are wrong? He may not violate his conscience; but the conscience needs an objective regulator, and that is Law.

The second element of good works consists in this, that they are done according to the law of God. Neither the motive nor the end sanctifies the means.

The Christian conscience is the organ for the right, an inalienable endowment of personality. Conscience is threefold; a faculty, answering to the self-determination of will; a perception, answering to intellectual and rational life; a sense, answering to feeling conditioned on perception or volition.

As a faculty, conscience is the will-power to choose the right and do the right; the power to choose and do the wrong. As intellectual perception conscience discerns the moral order of the world, as living within and existing without, from which arises the idea of the objective right, of obligation and duty. As the sense of right, conscience begets the feeling of self-approval when the right is chosen and done, begets the feeling of self-condemnation when the wrong is done, or the right is left undone. Moral faculty, moral perception, moral feeling, are different but inseparable moments of the same endowment. Each is potential in nascent personality. As personality awakes and develops, each is a force in every motion of the conscience.

* Heb. 10: 35. Rom. 12: 1-3.

Every act of personality involves some moral power, some moral intelligence, some moral feeling; though one form of the action of conscience may predominate over another form.

But the conscience does not beget the Right, nor impose obligation. The moral order of the world antedates conscience. Man has a conscience because there is a moral order. Truth and Right are primarily objective. Right addresses us from the constitution of Christianity, and from the constitution of the human kingdom, especially from the personality of the Christian man. If the light within be not darkness, if the eye of the soul be sound, the conscience sees the Right, and by contrast recognizes the wrong. But in consequence of the moral disorganization of the Adamic race, and the imperfections of the members of Christ, all intuitive judgments concerning the right are only partially correct. The best moral judgment is not purely good. The eye of the Christian soul is dim. Conscience comes to clearer and fuller perception of what the objective Right is only by a slow process; and when the Right is seen with some degree of clearness, Christian personality lacks the adequate power perfectly to do the Right. Sometimes judgment mistakes the Right for the wrong, or the wrong for the Right; and the conscience may condemn when a person has done that which in itself is right, or the conscience may fail to condemn when a person proposes to do, or has done, the deed which in itself is wrong.

Though the organ for the Right, the organ which fundamentally distinguishes personality from all impersonal creatures, yet conscience is not the objective standard for its decisions. That standard is the revealed Will of God; that Will, first, as expressed by the most perfect moral code, the Ten Commandments; then, that Will embodied and expressed by the ideal personal history of the Son of Man, an expression of authority which complements and transcends the Ten Commandments.

The authority of the righteous life of Jesus Christ, as final law for Christian personality, is at issue with the errors of moral judgment respecting obligations to God and duties to man, inherited from paganism or from Judaism, and with the

errors always arising from the imperfection of Christian judgment. In the endeavor to answer moral questions the problem consists in the just interpretation of the perfect law of God in its application to the varying conditions of family life, social life, civil life, ecclesiastical life. Whilst the Church may never fail to emphasize the Good and the True as developed in past centuries, and may never silence the dictates of the individual conscience, or the common conscience of her membership, yet she may never look within for the law of moral conduct. Tradition and custom are ever to be tested by the objective Right as expressed by the objective law. The ethical life of the Son of Man is perpetually the Object of study with an open mind, a mind free from prejudice or prepossession. Then the Ten Commandments, complemented and perfected by righteous love realized in Jesus Christ, become year by year an actual power in the progress of the Church, correcting the moral judgment and ennobling the moral life. As the moral life rises, as the moral judgment advances, the conscience will obtain clearer vision of the objective Right, and become a mightier motive.

The only criterion of judgment, the only rule of action, is the Law of God. An action proceeding from true faith is so far forth good. So is an action as regards its proposed end good, which is done for the glory of God. But an action may proceed from the true principle of moral goodness, and it may aim at the true end, yet it may not in reality be a good work. If the standard of judgment be false or inadequate, a person may perform a work in itself wrong from a right motive, or a work in itself wrong for an end in itself good; a contradiction arising from the ethical disorganization of the Adamic race, the consequences of which invade the ethical life of the Christian, and impair the worthiness of his conduct. The same contradiction may appear when the standard of right is true, but the moral judgment is at fault. Two things are therefore necessary: 1. The law of God, the ultimate and universal criterion of Right; 2. A correct moral judgment, respecting the requirements of the law in its application to conduct.

Sound Christian ethics must deny that the end sanctifies the means, or that the means are right because the end is good. Ethics enjoins that only right means, means approved by the law of God, be employed to accomplish an end, no matter how noble the end or how obligatory its accomplishment. Christianity tolerates no conduct, no motives, no transactions that contravene the righteousness of God. We have indeed to distinguish between religious life and good works, between faith in Christ and morality; but we cannot sever the two things without injury to both. Religion is essential to good works. Without religion works lack vitality and substance. On the other hand, good works are the expression of religious life. If works are not good, not approved by the law of God, religious life, for lack of normal development in action, is weak and sickly. Or if works are done according to a false standard, or governed by a false moral judgment, not only is religious life misdirected, but it is poisoned by the virus of moral evil. Hence the necessity and significance of the Decalogue for the Abrahamic people. Hence, too, the fundamental necessity and infinite worth of the sinless, holy life of Jesus Christ for the ethics of Christianity, and the ethical character of Christian people.

A correct doctrine respecting the law of God in its bearing on Christian life and conduct excludes the errors of Legalism and Antinomianism.

Legalism lays false stress on the law, ignoring the value of the other two moments of good works. Overlooking the truth that faith in Christ is the only principle from which a work in the Christian sense good may grow forth, it resolves this principle into volition, into a firm resolve to act conformably to the demands of law, a resolve which has in it an element of stoicism. Legalism emphasizes both the letter of the law and external conformity to the letter. The most prominent representatives of legalism were the sect of the Pharisees. The severity and hardness of Pharisaic morality our Lord represents by the conduct of the elder brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son. Genuine faith may co-exist with legalism;

but the life of faith of the Christian Church, if dominated by the Pharisaic spirit, becomes a caricature of the Christian religion. Failing to distinguish between sinfulness and the personality of the sinner, it becomes harsh and extreme in its condemnatory judgment of men; and instead of illustrating the love and mercy of Calvary it delights in the lightning and thunder of Sinai.

Legalism founders on the rock of Scylla; Antinomianism is engulfed in the whirlpool of Charybdis. Whilst the one makes false account of the law, the other ignores its necessity. Antinomianism puts false stress on the sovereign grace of God. The emphasis is not excessive, not too great in degree; but grace is falsely apprehended and falsely applied. The grace of God in Christ requires not only acceptance by faith, but requires a faith in Christ that works through love to Him; and love to Him keeps His commandments.* If love developed from faith does not keep His commandments, or is indifferent to righteousness of life, it is not Christian love; and where there is no Christian love there is no true Christian faith. In the interpretation of Paul's doctrine of Justification by faith apart from the works of the law, as set forth in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, antinomianism confounds the obligation of the ceremonial law binding the Jew, an obligation which Christianity has superseded and abolished, with the universal and unchangeable obligation of moral law, which Christianity not only recognizes, but has perfected and enthroned by the faultless righteousness of Jesus Christ. Both errors are referable to a defective conception respecting the relation between the authority of law and the necessity of faith.

IV.—WORKS DONE FOR GOD'S GLORY.

The aim of works truly good is the glory of God, the manifestation of God's righteous love. Righteous love is manifested inasmuch as good works are the realization of the divine genius

* Jno. 14: 15; 15: 12.

the content of works, only by obedience. He who chooses and fulfils the law does works which the law energizes and initiates.

If a person has true faith and honors the law, but his works are not done for the glory of God, his moral activity is misdirected. The right motive is wanting. The aim of volition is a false aim; and a false aim of a moral agent reacts upon the life of personality, and therefore also upon conduct, exerting a vitiating influence even upon an approved standing before God. Indeed if the aim of a moral agent be the glory of self, or the possession of the world, justifying faith cannot inspire conduct according to the law of faith. There is a contradiction of personality with itself which enfeebles 'the spiritual man' and sullies the purity of moral action.

In the degree that these three factors are active in due proportion the new life of 'the spiritual man' will grow in vigor and moral beauty; and the process of sanctification will advance step by step toward perfection.

Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pa., August 11, 1893.

III.

OUR RELATION TO GERMAN THEOLOGY.*

BY REV. WILLIAM RUPP, D.D.

IN our day no apology will be needed on the part of any theologian or scholar for any acquaintance with German learning and German methods of thought. Among English scholars such acquaintance is no longer exceptional, but has become the rule. The depth and thoroughness of German scholarship, in all departments of thought, are recognized and honored by a rapidly increasing number of students both in England and America. The effects of this influence of German thought are perceptible in all the most recent productions of the English mind. English books and periodicals are replete with the results of German learning. No important publication, either in the domain of science, philosophy or theology, now issues from the press without showing an influence of German thought

*This paper was read as an address at the Centennial Convention of the Pittsburgh Synod, held in Grace Reformed Church, Pittsburgh, Pa., April 27, 1893. It is now published with a few slight additions, and some notes. It may be proper to premise that the pronoun "our" in the title, is intended to refer not merely to the writer, but to the whole Reformed Church in the United States. If to any persons it should appear presumptuous that the writer should thus undertake to speak for his Church, they are reminded that this is done merely in the ordinary sense in which such performances are usually understood. What is meant is that in the writer's *opinion* the attitude of the Reformed Church in relation to the theological thought of Germany is in *the main* such as is here represented. There are doubtless some who will dissent from this opinion; and there are currents of thought in our Church which are not in agreement with this representation. But these, in the writer's full conviction, are mere eddies in the stream, and not the stream itself.

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and scholarship. All the leading English theological publications of recent times bristle on almost every page with references to German works. And no work of any consequence is published in Germany without appearing at once also in an English dress.

In these circumstances surely no member of the Reformed Church need blush to own an affinity with German religious thought and theology. It is no disgrace to acknowledge intellectual fellowship with men like Herder, Schleiermacher, Neander, Tholuck, Ohlshausen, Rothe, Lange, Dorner, and a host of others, whose names have become household words in the theological world of Great Britain as well as of Germany. Nor need we be ashamed of the history of German Christianity and of German religious life. That history suffers nothing in comparison with the religious history of England or of Scotland. German Protestantism has not only led the way in the progress of theological thought, but has been foremost also in the development of the Christian virtues of charity and benevolence.

The Reformed Church in the United States is a Church pre-eminently German in her origin, and should, therefore, be expected to sustain an intimate relation of affinity to German theology. She is, indeed, a *Reformed* Church, and therefore, allied more or less closely to the Protestant Churches outside of Germany, especially in Switzerland, France, Holland and England. Yet she was born on German soil; and the original bent of her genius and character were determined by German religious influences. Her Catechism, which is her only confession of faith—a true confession of *faith*, and not a dogmatic system—and her original Liturgy, which is still the general type of her order of worship, are productions, not of the French or Dutch, but of the German mind. Frederick III., under whose auspices they were produced, was a German prince; and their authors, Zacharias Ursinus and Casper Olevianus, were German theologians, educated in German schools and animated by German feelings and aspirations. Olevianus, indeed, was more directly a disciple of Calvin; but Ursinus, the principle author

of the Catechism, was a pupil and friend of Melanchthon, under whose direction the Palatinate was led originally to accept the Protestant faith, and whose influence had, to say the least, as much to do with the determination of its religious life and thought, as had that of Zwingli or Calvin.*

The main bulk of the membership of our Reformed Church is of German descent. Intermixed with it there is, indeed, a large Swiss element, which, however, is itself constitutionally German, and also no inconsiderable element that is of French origin. English, Scotch and Irish names also appear on the records of most of our congregations. These have come to be there partly in consequence of intermarriages in the older settlements of the country, and partly in consequence of the missionary operations which the Church has carried on more recently in the newer cities and towns.† But the great majority of our members are doubtless of German origin. They are the descendants of those immigrants who came to this country, from the Palatinate and adjacent German lands, in great numbers, during the eighteenth century, in consequence of the religious wars and persecutions which devastated their homes and embittered

* The fact that Ursinus was a believer in Calvin's doctrine of predestination, as is shown in his commentary on the Catechism, does not militate against the above statement. This doctrine was taken from Augustine, along with his whole anthropology, without discussion, by all the Reformers, and held with more or less conscious determination by all of them. It was not then a matter of controversy, and did not serve as an occasion of division among Protestants. That distinction belonged only to the doctrine of the sacraments. The doctrine of predestination became a subject of strife only a century after the commencement of the Reformation; and then only did it begin to serve as an occasion for the formation of opposing parties in the Church.

† Some of the most active, intelligent, and devoted members of our Church perhaps do not bear German names. Nevertheless they are thoroughly pervaded by her peculiar life and spirit. This proves that her theology, her customs, and her religious life are adapted to other classes of minds besides the German, and that her mission is not confined simply to taking care of the German immigrants that may come to our shores. The door of entrance is open to the Reformed Church on the same conditions as to others, and she is under the same obligation to go in and preach the Gospel to the destitute as others are.

their lives. They came here, not for their country's good, as so many others have come in later times, nor merely for the sake of improving their temporal condition, but like most of their English neighbors in this new world, who had come during the reign of the Stuarts, for the sake of religious freedom and peace. They came in order that they might be permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences and the rites of the Reformed Church.

In respect of language this original element of our Church has for the most part long since ceased to be German and become English, in this regard yielding to the inevitable influence and pressure of the surrounding national life. This change, though eminently reasonable and right, did not take place without resistance, and in some cases only after much bitterness and loss. Prolonged dialectic isolation had an unfavorable influence upon the Church in respect of general culture and of religious life. And it was the occasion also of no small loss to her membership. Some of her best members, in places where she came in contact with her English neighbors, and where the most intelligence and activity existed, were compelled from time to time to connect with other churches, because they no longer understood the German tongue, which nevertheless was still exclusively adhered to in the conduct of her worship. The change from the German to the English language, when, after the establishment of our literary and theological institutions, it came to take place, was found not to involve any sacrifice of the original life and genius of the Church, but rather to quicken and conserve the same. Instead of sacrificing the Church to the language, as some proposed to do, the language was sacrificed that the Church might live—a sacrifice surely that should not be regretted, however much one may love the tongue of Schiller and Goethe.

The separation of our Church, one hundred years ago, from the Church of Holland, to which for forty-six years she had stood in a relation of dependence, was a necessary condition of subsequent development in harmony with her original genius

and in correspondence with the progress of theological thought in the German fatherland. This separation, which is now the subject of our celebration, was not an arbitrary or willful breaking up of a beneficent relation. On the contrary, it was a historical and providential necessity, for which we now owe no apology, which calls for no repentance, and for the fruits of which we have reason to be thankful. The kindness of the Church of Holland shown towards the German Reformed churches in America, by extending to them material aid at a time when the Reformed Church in Germany was powerless to help them, and by exercising over them, for a time, a salutary and always a well-meant supervision, will indeed always demand of us grateful recognition. But that this was a relation that could not subsist always, and that while it did subsist it did not always produce the most beneficent results, must be obvious to any candid student of history.* The Dutch and the Germans did not understand each other's language, and this occasioned difficulties in the way of correspondence. And besides, though both were Reformed, their religious spirit and customs were not just the same. The Church of Holland had become Calvinistic in the sense in which this term has been understood since the time of the Arminian controversy, while the German Reformed Church was at most only Calvinistic in the sixteenth century sense of the term. A separation was, therefore, a historical necessity. If the German Reformed Church had continued to be controlled by the Church of Holland, and if this control had been real and not merely nominal, she would gradually have lost her original peculiarity, and become merely an insignificant branch of the general Calvinistic body of this country, for whose separate existence there would now be no

* That the dependence upon Holland did not tend to the most rapid development of the German Reformed Church is evident from the fact that, during the whole period of its duration, the number of ministers increased only from *five* to *nineteen*. This number was, of course, totally inadequate to take care of the many thousands of Reformed people who were in the country during that time. And the question of providing ministers for the many shepherdless congregations was one of the difficulties which led to the separation.

good reason. The hope may be entertained that some day the Dutch and German Reformed Churches will be one; but if they ever do unite, we may be sure that it will not be on the basis of Dutch Calvinism, but on the ground of some higher principle.*

One immediate result of the preservation of our separate and independent existence as a Church of German origin, is the retention of German depth and German geniality in our theological thinking and in our church life. While we may have gained something of the acuteness of the French mind from the Huguenots incorporated with us, and while we may have imbibed much of the practical common sense of the English, in consequence of the adoption of their language with its treasures of thought and sentiment, we have preserved also as a Church our German *Gemüthlichkeit*, our German depth and heartiness of feeling, as well as strength and keenness of intellect.

And it is doubtless this peculiarity of the German spirit that has preserved us from the one-sidedness and harshness of that extreme Puritanism which has at times disfigured the Reformed Churches in other lands and of other nationalities. From the spirit of German theology we have inherited that tendency to churchliness and to the recognition of the objective element in religion, which has saved our piety from the extremes of subjectivism and fanaticism, that have at times devastated the religious world around us. We have, for example, never permitted our altars to be removed from our sanctuaries. We have in general preserved the old and churchly style of archi-

*The recent rejection of the proposition of federal union by the Dutch Reformed Church has occasioned no little surprise among us. But before we blame them very much for it, we should consider whether, from the standpoint of the Dutch Church, it was not after all the right and proper thing to do. The union was not to affect their standing as modern Calvinists, nor our standing as Calvinists merely after the German or sixteenth century fashion; and they might, therefore, well be fearful that the thing would not work well. But even if it had been proposed that we should become Calvinists after their sort, what religious ground would there have been for such a union? Would not, in that case, a union with the Presbyterian Church be far more reasonable?

lecture in our houses of worship. We have never questioned the permissibility of church bells and of organs, nor the lawfulness of the use of hymns of modern origin. We have always believed in the reality and efficacy of sacramental grace, and in the propriety and advantages of educational religion. We have never parted with our love or taste for liturgical worship, the worship of God by all the people in the beauty of holiness. We have never forgotten the Church year, with its sacred days, and solemn festivals, and inspiring lessons, and stirring hymns, and sublime prayers. We have never ceased to practice catechization and confirmation as the best method of bringing our young people into the full communion of the Church. Under the pressure of adverse foreign influences one or other of these peculiar elements of our religious faith and life may at times have been neglected. But they have always been dear to the heart of the Church, and could therefore never be entirely abandoned or forgotten. And it is our pleasure now to observe that a restoration of these religious ideas and practices is taking place even in denominations which once seemed to be entirely estranged from them.*

Another advantage which we doubtless owe to our relation to German theology is that we have now, in this time of universal clarification of theological thought, no "Calvinistic

* There exists at the present moment a growing sense of *churchliness* among most of the denominations of this country, which manifests itself in increased reverence for the *idea* of the Church, in increased importance attached to the sacraments, in renewed honor put upon the church festivals, and especially in the extensive introduction of more or less liturgical forms of worship into the services both of Sunday-schools and congregations. These things are no longer regarded as relics of popery, to be abolished as quickly as possible. It is coming to be understood more and more that the right way to resist Romanism is not to deny the truth which is in Romanism, but rather to separate it from the unrighteousness in which it is held there, and to hold it in its simplicity and purity. The strength of a false ecclesiasticism is in the truth which lies at its foundation. The quality of *churchliness* is an essential quality of Christianity, of which a *mechanical ecclesiasticism*, such as we find in Romanism, and only in a less degree in modern Episcopalianism, is merely a perversion. It is the honor of the Reformed Church that she has, as a rule, held to the truth, while she has rejected the perversion.

system" to defend and save at the risk of our ecclesiastical existence or Christian character. Understanding by Calvinism the decretal system inherited from Augustine, together with its presuppositions and implications, we affirm that the German Reformed Church is not now, and never has been, Calvinistic. In the Reformed Church of Germany, as Ebrard showed long ago, this system never took strong or permanent root.* The sacramental views of Calvin, especially his views of the Lord's Supper, were heartily accepted; and this fact, together with what it involves, separates our Church from the Churches of the Lutheran confession. But, as has frequently been observed, there is an inner contradiction between the sacramental and the decretal systems, which makes them mutually exclusive, although they may at times have existed together in the same minds, as they did in Augustine's and in Calvin's. In consequence of this contradiction the sacramental system expelled the decretal system in Germany, while elsewhere the reverse has been the case. It is true, indeed, that the doctrine of the decrees was taught by German theologians, especially those of the Scholastic school of the seventeenth century; but, to use an expression of Ebrard's, they "encrusted" it in their systems, as a mollusk encrusts a grain of sand in its shell, and thus made it harmless; while other schools passed it by or refused to discuss it altogether.

But, however, it may have been at an earlier time, in German

* See Ebrard's *Dogmatik*, §§ 27, 36. Of the German Reformed theologians who were present at the Synod of Dort, many dissented from the views of the majority, and afterwards altogether disregarded the authority of the Synod. One delegate from Bremen, Dr. Martinus, is said in his old age to have exclaimed, "O Dort, O Dort! would God that I had never seen thee!" See Herzog's Real Enc. Vol. III., p. 489. It need scarcely be remarked in this connection that neither the Reformed Church of Germany nor her daughter in the United States is an *Arminian* Church. Arminianism, the doctrine of an eternal decree predestinating unto salvation, out of the mass of fallen humanity, those who believe in Christ (*ob fidem prævisam*) is not a solution of the difficulties of Calvinism. That solution can only be reached, if reached at all, in a new theological system whose controlling principle shall be, not the idea of divine sovereignty, but the idea of the person of Christ.

theology the Calvinistic system perished utterly in the rationalistic revolution of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, and in the *renaissance* which followed afterwards. It perished, moreover, never to be revived on German soil, except as a curiosity, and in sporadic form. From the influence of the German rationalism, especially of the school of Semler, Paulus and Reimarus, which was indeed in a large measure a legitimate reaction against the dead orthodoxism of a former period, the American Church was preserved by her *isolation*. There was at that time so little intellectual communion between the mind of the Church in America and that of the German fatherland, that the processes which were going on in the latter were little felt by the former. Men seldom crossed the ocean in either direction. It was not a time in which there was much traveling, nor a time of much immigration. And of books not many were imported; and even if there had been, they would not have been generally understood in the intellectual condition which prevailed here from 1793 to 1825.

When, after the establishment of our theological and literary institutions in this country, intercourse on any considerable scale with Europe was renewed, a new theology had been created there, which was in many respects different from the orthodox systems of former times. The great systems of philosophy also had been developed and published to the world—the systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel—which, though they may contain much that is fanciful, have nevertheless given a new direction and method to the operations of the human mind for all time to come. And in connection with the new philosophy there had grown up, on the ruins of the older systems, a new theology, elaborated and fostered by such men as Schleiermacher, Neander, and their disciples—a theology which, while true to the old faith, was in thorough touch also with the spirit of modern life and thought—a theology which was as devout as it was scientific, and as scientific as it was devout, and which satisfied for the time at least the new demands of the human reason.

With this new theology of Germany our Church has, since the establishment of her institutions of learning, been in relations of sympathetic correspondence. The first president of Marshall College, Dr. F. A. Rauch, was a representative of this new theology—a pupil of Daub, a disciple of Schleiermacher, and a student of Schelling and Hegel. And though Dr. Rauch died being yet comparatively a young man, he succeeded in giving to the educational institutions, and to the philosophical and theological thinking of the Church, a direction and tendency which they ever since have followed. The eyes of the Church then were directed mainly towards Germany for theological teachers as well as for theological light and truth. When a professor was wanted for our new Seminary at Mercersburg, the Synod sent for Dr. Frederick W. Krummacher, but in the providence of God we obtained Dr. Philip Schaff. Krummacher was doubtless an eloquent preacher, and an able, pious man; but he was a reactionist in theology—a representative of the old order of thought, who could see no good in the “neology” of his time, and who celebrated in rapt effusions the “union of the throne and the altar;” resembling in these respects his co-temporary and co-worker Hengstenberg, from whom he differed only in that the latter was a Lutheran while he was a Calvinist. If we had gotten Krummacher, and if he had not died of homesickness in the free and democratic air of young America, the history of our Church would doubtless have been different from what it has been, and our present position would be different from what it is. But we got Schaff, and the world knows the result.

In the new German theology the central, the organizing principle is not the idea of election or of divine sovereignty, nor either the idea of justification through faith, but the idea of the incarnation or of the person of Christ. In this respect it is in harmony with the Heidelberg Catechism, which, in consequence of the controlling influence over the connection and exposition of its doctrines exercised by the Apostles' Creed, is sub-

stantially a Christological confession of faith.* In the apprehension of the new German theology the essence of Christianity is not doctrine or law promulgated directly from heaven, but a divine-human life in Christ. Christ Himself is in a profound sense the substance of the religion which He came into the world to establish.† And Christ's coming into the world was not a mere accident; nor did He come simply as a make-shift in order to the recovery of the world from the evil of sin. Christ is central in the counsels of God, central in the constitution of humanity, central in Christianity, and therefore He must of necessity also be central in theology. This is the peculiar conception which characterises the new German theology from Schleiermacher to Dorner. And this Christo-centric conception has regenerated the whole system of Christian doctrine and made all things therein new. Not only the doctrine of God, but also the doctrine of man has received a new interpretation and new significance. The old doctrines of the divine fatherhood, of creation and providence, of sin and of grace, of atonement and justification, of regeneration and sanctification, of the Church and sacraments, and especially the doctrine of the last things, have all been affected by the force of this new principle, and have been thereby placed in new light.

* The Heidelberg Catechism is a true *confession of faith*, not a doctrinal or dogmatic system; differing in this respect, for example, from the Westminster Confession, which deals, in the way of definition, with the most difficult questions of metaphysical theology. This is the reason, too, that there is now such an urgent demand for the revision of the Westminster Confession, while there is no such demand for a revision of the Catechism. The theological definitions of the one have been outgrown by the mind of the Church, while the essential articles of faith of the other can never be outgrown. It is true, of course, that the Catechism, too, bears upon it some of the marks of its age. There may be in it some statements which transcend the proper limits of a confession of faith. It reflects, moreover, some doctrinal positions of its age, which were not then prominent, and which have since been somewhat modified. But the pervasion of it by the spirit of the Apostles' Creed, which is the Christological spirit of the early Greek Church, makes it essentially a Christological confession of faith, that will be true for all time.

† "Der eigentliche Inhalt des Christenthums ist aber ganz und gar die Person Christi."—Schelling.

This idea of the centrality of Christ in Christianity is the root idea of that "new theology" which now prevails to a considerable extent in New England, and which has occasioned so much consternation and called forth so much contradiction in various parts of the land. Though we may detect what we believe to be deficiencies in the exposition of the "new theology" in this country, yet we hail it as a sign of promise, because its leading idea is one with which we have long been familiar, and because we believe this to be the true principle of a sound and scriptural system of Christian theology. There was a time, indeed, when the idea of a Christo-centric theology was ridiculed even among ourselves, and sneered at as a mere private conceit of some discontented minds. But that time is past; and we have the satisfaction now of seeing our Christo-centric conception adopted in the most influential circles of American theological thought. It would doubtless be a mark of vanity in us to say that we have given this principle to the theological thought of this country. To some extent, indeed, this would be true. Drs. Nevin and Schaff bore witness to this principle at a time when few men were willing to receive their witness, and when by many it was supposed to be nothing more than a new form of German transcendentalism or mysticism, that no sound English brain could comprehend. But the new idea, with some of its most important corollaries, has at last gained admission to some of the leading schools of theology in the country; and it may even be gratifying to us to know that they have received it from the same source from which we had received it at an earlier time, namely, *the new theology of Germany*.

This Christological principle will ultimately prove to be the unifying principle of the Church. The unifying, organizing principle which will at some time make one the various Christian denominations of this country, will not be the doctrine of the divine decrees, nor the doctrine of free-will, nor the doctrine of the inspiration of Scripture; nor will it be the institution either of episcopacy or of presbyterialism. We are bound, because of our Christological principle, to sympathize with the

unionistic tendencies of our time; but we are bound also to confess that we can not have much sympathy or even respect for the various plans of union that have as yet been proposed. Church union, we believe, will never be brought to pass, on any extensive scale, on the mere basis of similarity of polity, or of cultus, or of doctrine; nor either on the basis of the identity of a name, like Reformed, or Lutheran, or Methodist. We may be more hopeful in regard to the results which are likely to follow from union in practical Christian work—work for Christ and His kingdom, and for the salvation of the masses and the amelioration of their condition. Such work has for its motive love to Christ, whether Christ be regarded in His own person, or more in the persons of other men, according to Matt. 25: 31–46; and such love to Christ lies nearer to the heart of the Christological principle than any mere devotion to a doctrine or form of government does, and will tend also to beget that divine charity without which all our works are nothing worth, and without which certainly there can be no church union.*

*There exists at the present time a considerable degree of unity in German Christianity, in spite of the wide divergencies of different schools of theology. The differences of theological views have not in Germany so generally led to the organization of separate sects, as in England and America. This difference could not be ascribed entirely to the difference in the attitude of the State in relation to the Church among the two nationalities respectively; for the pressure of the government upon the Church has in the past been, to say the least, as heavy in Great Britain as in Germany. The difference is usually supposed to be due to a more practical turn of the English mind as compared with the German. In the English mind the will, in the German the intellect is relatively the stronger. Hence the Englishman proceeds generally to embody his ideas in outward institutions, while the German is content to build them up into intellectual systems. There is doubtless a degree of truth in this representation; for the German evidently attributes less importance to pure doctrines or abstract notions in the practical life of religion than the Englishman does. But whether for this reason the German mind should be said to be less *practical* than the English is another question. However this may be, the German habit is in this particular nearer to the habit of original Christianity than the English. In the original Christianity of Christ and the Apostles the centre of gravity lay not in the sphere of doctrine, but in the sphere of practice, or of morality. The subsequent shifting of this centre of gravity from morality to doctrine, or from the heart to the intellect, was due to the

Our Christological habit of thought, according to which we find the foundation of Christianity, not in the Bible, but in Christ Himself, enables us to look with complacency upon the operations and results of modern Biblical criticism. Biblical criticism, at least the higher criticism, though no longer cultivated exclusively by German scholars, owes its origin to German learning, German patience and German love of truth. The German theologian, as a rule, is not afraid of the truth. The truth can do no harm; and the German scholar in his investigations is usually little controlled by advance considerations of "consequences." There is one consequence which no criticism of the Bible can lead to: it can never take away the ever-living and present Christ from the heart of the Christian believer. Believing, then, and being sure that Christ is the truth, and that He has the words of eternal life, we need not be greatly disturbed if errors should be discovered in the geography, or history, or science of the Bible. We shall be able to be Christians, and to believe in the general trustworthiness of the Gospel, in spite of all that; and we shall not cry out that we have lost our Lord, if our theories of inspiration are disturbed. Wellhausen, from what we are

influence of the Greek mind. The strict maintenance of intellectual formulas concerning Christ then became a matter of more importance in regard to church relations than love to Christ was supposed to be. Now, we would not underrate the service which the Greek mind has rendered to Christianity; and we would be far from depreciating the value of sound doctrine in the development of the Christian life; but we are convinced that the Christian world must come back more to the original habit of Christianity, in the view here under consideration, before we may hope for any thing like a generally successful movement towards union among the various Christian denominations. So long as men may in one breath be pronounced good Christians and yet heretics unfit for membership in some particular denomination, there is not much hope for church union. The German habit of laying more stress upon the state of a man's heart, and less upon the opinions which he holds, which at any rate is in harmony with the habit of original Christianity, we believe to be a condition that must come to prevail far more generally than it does now, before there can be much hope for the reunion of our divided Christendom. On the relative importance of morality and doctrine in Christianity compare Hatch, "*The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*," pp. 158-170.

sometimes told about his rationalism and about his deadly errors, ought perhaps to be a monster of wickedness; yet we hear that he is a most excellent Christian gentleman. Some may not be able to see how that can be; but we are assured that so it is, nevertheless. Perhaps it is because the German makes less account than we are accustomed to do, of mere theological opinion, and more of the objective divine reality which attests itself in his consciousness, and is, for this very reason, also more disposed to exercise charity in his judgment of those who differ with him.

One of the leading characteristics of modern German theology, which has made a deep and lasting impression upon the thinking of our Church, is its *historical spirit*, or its sense for the reality and significance of historical development. This may be due, in part, to the peculiar tendency of the German mind to reverence the objective, the reality and worth of being, and in part also to the application in theological thinking of the Christological principle, which makes Christ the central idea and final cause of the world's entire life; implying that the world's life is a connected and orderly process, without breaks or leaps—a process in which one stage is always conditioned by that which precedes, while it in turn conditions that which succeeds—a process, moreover, which as embodying an element of freedom possesses an objective moral import and value. In a contemplation of the world and of human life from the standpoint of absolute divine predestination the historical process can have no real significance. Indeed, it ceases to be in any proper sense a process. History in this view becomes simply the transposition into space and time of what is eternally predetermined in the divine decrees; somewhat as in the system of Plato the world of finite things is merely a copy of the divine ideas. In this view no value can attach to history in any form. In its objective form, or sense, it is merely the mathematical product in time of the series of factors involved in the eternal decrees. The process is entirely without freedom, and, therefore, without any moral interest or meaning. It achieves

nothing but what was eternally pre-formed in the decree of creation, in which Christ Himself is involved as a single factor, whose life, therefore, comes under the same law of necessity that controls the whole process, and is like every thing else, devoid of any real moral import and value.

Nor can the study of history have any real interest in this view. For Calvinism, accordingly, Church history can have no significance; and the attachment of any value either to the history of life or of dogma, must always appear to it as heresy. It is, therefore, not without cause that until a comparatively recent period, historical theology was scarcely cultivated at all outside of German universities. We have the testimony of Dr. J. W. Nevin to the effect that, at the time when he was a student at Princeton, there was scarcely anything known there of the science of Church history. Some study of the controversy between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism was all that was thought necessary or profitable in that line. For consistent Calvinism, indeed, the truth has no history. It came into the world once for all when the Bible was composed, and it came in a manner that separates it entirely from the notion of anything like a historical process; and since its advent here its life has been simply a series of obscurations and re-discoveries, between which there has been no necessary inward relation or connection. Westminster Calvinism was simply such a disclosure of the truth contained in the Bible, whose light had been hidden for some ages, standing in no connection with anything going before, and needing nothing to follow after it. What profit, then, could there be in the study of history?

In German theology, on the contrary, history, in the objective sense of the term, is regarded as having a real significance and value. History is *Entwicklung, development, evolution*—a process possessing its own laws, and tending with unbroken continuity to a pre-determined divine end, but involving also a factor of freedom, which invests its results with a real value as possessing moral contents that were not in the beginning. This conception applies to the process of divine revelation; and the

Bible, which is the record of revelation, must consequently be in a great measure a sealed book so long as it is not approached with a historical sense and in a historical spirit. The same conception applies to the formation of doctrines and dogmas in the Church; and the present result of this process can, therefore, only be understood properly in the light of its progress in the past. The same historical conception applies also to the person and history of Christ; and hence in German we have real "lives of Christ." And the same historical conception belongs, finally, to the process of the individual Christian life. In the unhistorical view of Christianity salvation consists simply in a succession of disconnected divine operations, such as regeneration, conversion, sanctification, with which the ordinary moral life of the individual has scarcely any connection. Conversion is a sudden process brought to pass by an operation of the divine spirit, and changing the mind of a sinner into the mind of a saint; while the sinful nature still manifestly adhering to the soul is magically put aside in the moment of death. The historical view, on the other hand, emphasises the idea of the Christian life as a growth in grace, and as a continuous moral process, in which the individual will as well as the surrounding environment are significant factors, and whose result, therefore, possesses real ethical value.

In the view here under consideration our theology, the theology of our Church, is, we believe, decidedly German. But we witness with pleasure that the historical sense is beginning to assert itself also in the theological thinking of other denominations. The historical spirit and method are manifest in much of the theological literature of the day. We have the pleasant consciousness, however, that we have led the way in this matter. To us the idea of historical development has long been familiar. We believed in *Entwicklung* at a time when *Entwicklung* was regarded as a very great heresy. And because of this our general historical sense we have no trouble with the modern doctrine of evolution, which some have regarded as the very abomination of desolation in the temple of God. That doctrine,

theistically construed, is only the complement in the sphere of natural science of what we have long since regarded as true in the historical sciences. And there is nothing in it that should in the least disturb our faith. The world may have been evolved according to the laws formulated by Darwin; that does not prevent us from believing "in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth." The omnipotence of the heavenly Father is the immanent force of the process by which the world has come to be; the laws which govern the movement of the process, are the determinations of His will; and Christ is the immanent, determinative idea of the process, and the end to which the whole creation tends. We have, therefore, no trouble with modern science or philosophy.* Some scientists, indeed, may be atheistic; much of our science is doubtless in conflict with seventeenth century dogmatism; but we have no quarrel with the science of the age, for we are sure that in its own way it is contributing to the glory of our Lord.

We have dwelt upon some of the peculiar features and excellencies of German theology, which are a part of our natural inheritance, and of which we would not willingly be deprived. But we are not, and ought not to be, blind worshipers of everything that is German. Germany has produced thinkers whom we are bound to repudiate, and systems of thought which we must reject. Germany has nourished a Strauss and a Bruno Bauer, who began with denying the Lord, and ended with worshiping Bismarck—a cult to which other Germans have also been devoted for some time, and which has had no particularly ennobling effect upon the German people. Germany has, moreover of late years produced a whole brood of reactionary theologians,

* The remark which Archbishop Whately once made of the manner in which many preachers treat scientific truth, we believe to be at least less applicable to those of the Reformed Church than to many others. "At first," he said, "they say that it is absurd; then they say that it contradicts the Bible; and finally they say that they have always believed it." If we have not always believed some of these things which are now generally accepted as established truths, we have at least not quarreled with them as much as some others have.

whose doctrines breathe the spirit of the Middle Ages, and who, in their enthusiasm for the "empire," have lost the power of distinguishing between the throne and the altar.* For these we have no use. We appropriate from the treasures of German thought, not blindly, but with discrimination. We try the spirits, whether they are of God, before we accept the doctrines which they may bring. As Christians it is our duty to do that. And this is a duty which must continually be exercised, and from the obligation of which there can be no escape. For spirits will continue to come, whether we will it or not—teachers who claim that they have something to tell us that we have not heard before, and that shall be for our profit. Some may think that after the Heidelberg Catechism, or at least after the Westminster Confession, a great gulf has been fixed between the source of truth and ourselves, so that those who are on that side cannot pass over to us, nor can any from our side pass over to that. That appears to be what a certain theory demands. But in spite of the most plausible theory, spirits still continue to come; and they come bringing messages for men. Now, it is not enough that we know the spirits to be German or English, orthodox or heterodox—that is to say, agreeing or disagreeing with our particular *doxas*. What we want to know is whether they confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, and whether they have anything to teach us that shall be for our edification and for the good of the Church; and if so, we are ever willing to hear and to learn; for, as Ebrard has said, it is the peculiar glory of the Reformed Church to be able to accept everything that has proven itself to be scriptural and true, no matter from what quarter it may come. Truth is one; and truth cannot conflict with truth. If, then, we possess *the truth* in its unity, we can have no difficulty in accepting and appropriating *truths* wherever we may find them. There may be denominations whose creeds are so narrow and so imperfect that they offer no points of attachment to many truths which modern

* Compare Lichtenberger's *History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 358, 375, and elsewhere.

experience and modern study of the Bible have brought to light. If their members happen to light upon any such truths, they must be invited, therefore, to step out, and find homes elsewhere. The Reformed Church is not thus narrow. She has room for all truth, whether it be new or old, and whether it be preached by German or Englishman, Catholic or Protestant. She might, therefore, in this respect adopt the motto : *nihil veri a me alienum puto.*

IV.

THE AIM AND END OF THE CHURCH.

A Study on Eph. III. 16-19.

BY REV. WM. C. SCHAEFFER, PH.D.

Some one has said that in this epistle to the Ephesians the apostle Paul reached the summit level in the marvelous productions which he has given to the Church. If we had no other way to justify God's providence in taking St. Paul from his active missionary work and allowing him to languish those weary years in the prisons of Cæsarea and Rome, we could find it in the ripening of heart and mind which enabled him to write this wonderful letter.

The epistle confessedly gives us St. Paul's doctrine on the Church. However much commentators may differ on other points, they are, I think, agreed on this. According to Alford, the theme of the epistle is *the ground, the course, and the aim and end of the Church of Christ*. The first three chapters contain the doctrinal portion. This very naturally falls into three parts, marked by the division of the chapters. In the first part St. Paul points out the ground and origin of the Church in the Father's eternal counsel of love, and in the carrying out of that counsel in the work of Christ and in the mission of the Holy Spirit. In the second part we are pointed to the course and progress of the Church. Here we are confronted by the mystery of the constitution of the Church, in which Jews and Gentiles, being quickened together with Christ and being made to sit with him in heavenly places, are builded up together into an holy temple in the Lord for a habitation of God through the

Spirit. The third part then takes up the aim and end of the Church. The substance of what the apostle has to say on this part is contained in the passage under consideration.

Before taking up the several points which are here presented for our consideration, it may not be amiss to remark that, while much has been written on the subjects contained in the first and second parts, much less has been said on the subject contained in the third. There has been much controversy on the Father's eternal counsel of love, in which the Church is here represented to have had its origin and ground. Much has been written on the mystery by which the Church is being builded up into an holy temple in the Lord. There has been much learned discussion on how the Church is the body of Christ, the fulness of him that filleth all in all, and on how we can say that the Church is the habitation of God through the Spirit. Much less attention seems to have been given to the thought which is presented in this third part. To say the least, this is the most practical of the three general themes presented in the epistle. In our working in and for the Church, in our efforts to extend her borders at home and in heathen lands, do we always have clearly before us the aim and end of our labor? It is certainly a most pertinent question, to ask ourselves what aim and end we should constantly set before ourselves as we go on toiling from year to year in the vineyard of the Lord.

Should we attempt to answer the question simply on the basis of our own thinking, it is likely that most of us would say that our aim and end should be to save men from eternal ruin, or to prepare the bride of Christ so that he may be able at last to present her pure and unspotted before the Father's throne. Doubtless our answers would contain much that is true, yet they would fall far short of the answer which St. Paul suggests.

In the passage before us, St. Paul gives us his answer in the form of a prayer. He prays for three things: I. That the members of the Church may be strengthened with might by the Spirit, so that Christ may dwell in their hearts by faith; II. That being rooted and grounded in love, they may be able to

apprehend the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge; III. That they may be filled with all the fulness of God.

We notice first of all that St. Paul makes the aim and end of the Church to consist in something which is to be attained in her members. Whatever our position may be on the old question of universals, it is well to notice that the Church as a whole reaches her aim and end only as the things here spoken of are reached in the individual members. Only as the individual stones, which go to make up the temple of God, are cut and polished and made ready for their place in the building, can the grand edifice be reared in the world. Only as the individual jewels, which go to make up the Saviour's crown, are made to reflect his glory, can that crown be made ready for his brow. This does, of course, not mean that the individual member is to be prepared and builded up in his Christian life apart from the Church, or on the outside of the kingdom of grace. We must be comprehended first of all in the mystery which is broader than ourselves, before we can begin to apprehend the mystery in which we stand and by which we are supported and nourished. Only because the Church is the fulness of him that filleth all in all, can we become filled with all the fulness of God. In the order of thought and of reality the Church as a whole comes first; but in the order of time and of historic realization the individual members come first. They must be transformed into the image of Christ, before the Church as a whole can become the bride, adorned for her husband, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing. The architect has first of all the plan of the entire building in his mind, before he contemplates the stones and the material which he puts into it; but in the order of time and of realization, he cuts and dresses his stones first, and only when these are prepared each for its proper place does he rear the building. So with the temple of our God. The Saviour first called and trained a number of disciples; and only after they were prepared was the Church founded by the sending of the Holy Ghost. So of the Church as a whole. Men are called

by the Gospel, lifted up by the energies reaching out from the bosom of the kingdom; and only when they are transformed and perfected, will the Church as a whole reach its end. Hence we repeat, in the order of thought the Church is first as the bosom in which we must rest; but in the order of historic realization the individual stones are reached first, and only when each of these is prepared for its proper place in the grand edifice will the temple itself be able to reach its completion.

Hence it is said that the aim and end of the Church is found in something which is to be accomplished in the individual members. When they shall have been so strengthened with might in the inner man that Christ shall dwell in their hearts by faith; when they shall be able to apprehend the breadth and length, and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge; and when they shall have been filled with all the fulness of God; then, and not till then, can the Church in deed and in truth be the body of Christ, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.

This, it strikes me, is a thought of much practical importance. We reach the aim and end of our ministry, and so of all Christian activity, and indeed the end of the Church's existence on earth, not by holding up before our minds some grand ideal of churchly power and excellence, not by trying to build up some grand ecclesiastical organization; but by getting down to hand to hand work in rescuing, elevating, training, and perfecting the separate and individual jewels which will make up the Saviour's crown. Our business is primarily to cut and polish the stones which are to be builded up into the temple; God will by his Spirit and providence himself see to it that they are builded and compacted together.

What then is that which is to be accomplished in the individual members in which the Church is to attain her aim and end?

I. This, in the first place, is that we may be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man, so that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith. "That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with

might by his Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith."

The immediate aim of the Church's activity on earth is to reach the "inner man." St. Peter calls this "the hidden man of the heart." (1 Pet. 3: 4.) The Saviour speaks of it simply as "the heart," and sometimes as "the treasure of the heart."

What are we to understand by this "inner man," this "hidden man of the heart," this "treasure of the heart," or simple "the heart?" Evidently it must refer to that which is most important in the constitution of our being, since it is thus singled out as the end which the Church's activity aims first of all to reach. Says Tayler Lewis, "It is the strong vault of the spirit far down below the outward word and act, below the thoughts in any objective shape they may assume to our thinking consciousness. Yes, below the thoughts, we say, for they are born in it and come *up out of it*. 'Out of the heart come forth evil *thoughts*.' 'The imagination of the thoughts of the heart are evil, and evil continually.' It is deeper than any motus, movement, or acting of the soul, unless we mean that static action, force, or life which is involved in its very spiritual status or constitution; since all life, all being in fact, is inseparable from the idea of a doing or an energy in some form. It is thus not only below all doing in the motive sense, but all willing as the commencement of any spiritual movement. That which energizes in us 'both to will and to do,' be it nature or be it divine life, must be something still lower, still more interior than either the *doing* or the *willing*." "The inner man," we would then say, is the inmost, the deepest, the most hidden part of our being, the well-spring of thought, emotion and volition, that out of which come the issues of life, and accordingly that which ultimately determines what we are.

It is the aim of the Church primarily to reach this "inner man;" and if it fails in this, all other aims which it has in view are necessarily rendered impossible. And that which the Church is intended to accomplish for this "inner man" is to strengthen it with might.

This pre-supposes that this "inner man" is by nature weak, and incapable of performing the functions and duties of manhood. This accords with the uniform tenor of Scripture on the subject. "How weak is thine heart, saith the Lord, seeing that thou doest all these things." (Ezek. 16: 30). Because the heart is weak, therefore the thought and deed falter. Strength in this part is promised to those who wait on the Lord. "Wait on the Lord: be of good courage and *he shall strengthen thine heart*: wait, I say, on the Lord." (Ps. 27: 14). Not only is the heart weak and incapable of any good, but it is represented as the evil source whence proceed all the evils which externalize themselves in our outward life. Listen to the terrible muster-roll of the products of this "inner man!" "For from within, out of the hearts of men, proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murders, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: all these evil things come from within and defile the man." (St. Mark 7: 21-23). The heart, moreover, is thus continually throwing up into our outward life such evil things only because it is itself corrupt and defiled. "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it?" (Jer. 17: 9). "And God saw that the wickedness of man was great upon the earth, and that *every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually*" (Gen. 6: 5).

That this "inner man," so weak and so corrupt, may be strengthened with might is primarily the aim of the Church. The expression, "to be strengthened with might," seems at first sight to contain a tautology. But this is only apparent. The "inner man" is corrupt and defiled and does not have within itself any resources which can be developed into strength. It is "dead in trespasses and sins." In order that we may have power for the accomplishment of the grand purpose of life, might must be brought into the heart from beyond itself. Hence the meaning is, not to be strengthened with its own might or power, but with the might of God's Holy Spirit.

We must "be strengthened with might *by his Spirit*." The

energy must come from above; and it must be the energy of God's Holy Spirit. He alone is "the Lord, the Giver of life." He alone can give us the gift of a new and spiritual life. And as he alone can give unto us life, so can he alone afterwards strengthen our hearts. As we know from sad experience, even after we have received the gift of the new life, we must struggle all our life long against the corrupt inclinations of the flesh. The new man is not at once transformed into the perfect image of Christ; but we are born babes in Christ, and must grow and develop until at the end we reach the full measure of the stature of Christ. But for this development we need the constant help of the Holy Spirit. As the budding plant in the garden needs the constant sustenance and strength which come to it from the genial influences of the sunshine and rain and soil, so does the Christian need the help and strength which comes to his spiritual life from the presence of the kingdom of grace. But the one who mediates all the effective energies of that kingdom to the soul, is the blessed Holy Spirit.

But this strengthening of the "inner man" with the might of the Spirit is for the purpose of reaching a certain definite result in us. It is that Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith. We are not simply to be made strong, but the might which we are to receive is to be of such a character as to fit us to receive Christ as a permanent guest into our hearts. St. Paul uses a compound verb to express this idea of indwelling. The simple verb *οἰκῆσαι* means to dwell; but he uses it in composition with *κατά*, which gives the verb the force of a permanent, finished, or fixed indwelling.

The relation between the believer and his risen Lord is variously stated in the New Testament. It is represented to be of a generic character, and is thus compared to the relation between the first Adam and every subsequent member of the race. The believer shares in the risen and exalted life of the second Adam, just as every member of the human family shares in the natural life of the first Adam. (1 Cor. 15: 45-49; Col. 3: 1-3.) But this gives us only a partial representation of the

truth. The relation of the believer to his ascended Lord includes far more than is implied in this analogy of the natural relation of the first Adam to his descendants. Beyond the fact that we receive the natural life of the first Adam, we stand in no relation to him. He is not an ever-present factor in our life. His having died and passed from the stage of human existence does not now affect us. But Christ is an ever-present factor in the life of every believer. Not only did we receive our new and spiritual life from him, but this new life can continue to exist only as we constantly derive life from him. Hence our relation to him is further represented under the analogy of the vine and its branches. "As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; so neither can ye, except ye abide in me. I am the vine, ye are the branches: he that abideth in me and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for apart from me ye can do nothing." (St. John 15: 4, 5.) The believer not only receives life from Christ, but he lives in him, so that the power and energy of Christ are ever in him as the strength by which he is enabled to do the things pertaining to his new and spiritual life. But even this does not express in full all that is implied in the believer's relation to his risen and exalted Lord. The relation is not simply that of impersonal force or impersonal life, as that is found in the vine; but it is the relation of living personalities and intelligences, so that the idea is not simply that of the relation of force to force, but of the communion of spirit with spirit. Hence beyond all that is implied in the analogies above referred to, the relation between the believer and his ascended Lord implies such spiritual communion and fellowship that the one comes really to dwell in the other. This aspect of the relation is compared by the Saviour himself to the relation subsisting between himself and the Father. "That they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me. And the glory which thou hast given me I have given unto them; that they may be one, even as we are one; I in

them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one." (St. John 17 : 21-23). There is probably no simply earthly relation which can furnish an analogy to this side of the relation between the believer and his Lord. There is to be a permanent, personal indwelling of the risen and exalted Christ in the heart of the believer; not simply the indwelling of his power and grace, not even the indwelling of his Spirit simply, but the permanent indwelling of the personal Christ, who is exalted at the right hand of God. "That Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith." "Behold, I stand at the door, and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me." (Rev. 3 : 20).

It is no doubt impossible for us adequately to realize all that is implied in this aspect of our relation to Christ; and yet we have constant foretastes of the blessed reality. What believer has not enjoyed moments of such spiritual uplifting that he has been conscious of a communion with his risen Lord? There are moments of transport even in the life of the most humble and barren, which gives to the Christian a sense of what is meant by such expressions, though it is difficult to find a way adequately to express or represent it. Philosophically it presents all the difficulties involved in the question of the divine immanence, added to the question of a finite spirit being able to afford a permanent abode for the infinite; but practically it is a question which is beginning to find its realization in the experience of even the most humble.

This now is the primary aim of the church on earth—so to strengthen the individual member of the church with might by the Spirit, that this mystery may take place in him. And it is the aim of the church, not only that a few choice spirits here and there may rise to the realization of this grand experience, but that every one who is in the church may attain it. Certainly it is an aim worthy of an institution which is here by divine appointment; and it is high enough too to enlist all the noblest energies of consecrated men and women everywhere.

II. Has the aim and end of the church been reached, when this has been attained? St. Paul, at least, goes on to enumerate two other things which are to be attained before this end is reached. The next he puts into this form, "That ye being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge."

Not only are we to be strengthened by the Holy Spirit so that the mystery of the Christian life may be completely realized in us; but we are to be made able also to know and apprehend the mystery in which we are to be comprehended. Not only are we to be so changed as to reflect the perfect beauty and glory of God for the admiration of angels; but we are to be made able to see and enjoy the glory ourselves.

We are to be made able to apprehend the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge. One naturally asks, to what breadth, and length, and depth, and height does the apostle refer? There is a breadth and length which spreads out before us in the external world. The scientist goes out upon the broad expanse of nature, and he discovers mysteries written all over the face of the universe. By many an earnest wrestle he has compelled nature to yield up many of her secrets, until he has harnessed the strength of the ocean and made the lightning do his bidding; yet wherever he has made a step in advance, he has seen the breadth and length of wonder and of mystery expand before him. So there are depths by which we are confronted, both without and within. With the motto, that "the proper study of mankind is man," the philosopher has stood beside the deep which opens to our gaze in the human spirit; and he has there found mysteries,

"Before which our mortal nature
Doth tremble like a guilty thing surprised;"

and he has been forced to the confession again and again that his intellect has no plummet capable of sounding the depths.

The astronomer, not content with the mysteries which surround him on the earth, has mounted aloft; and with the aid of telescope and spectroscope he has measured and analyzed the sun and the stars. Taking the distance which separates us from the sun in the grasp of his imagination as his measuring rod, he has started out to measure other suns many thousand and million times as far away, until even the imagination sinks back oppressed by the dizzy height. And as he has swept along through space he has thrown interrogation marks all over the immensities of space. Are these the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, which we are to be made able to comprehend? Yes; doubtless the time will come when we will know all these. But St. Paul has evidently in mind a breadth, and length, and depth, and height, which are above and beyond all these,—even the breadth and length, and depth, and height of him who made them all, and who continually upholds them by the word of his power. We shall see him as he is, and we are to know him and his love, which passeth knowledge.

Is it the aim of the church then to teach us all this? Let us not lose sight of the manner in which St. Paul makes his statement. He prays that we may *be made able* to comprehend and to know; the Revised Version puts it, “that ye, being rooted and grounded in love, *may be strong* to apprehend and to know.” It is not the aim of the church primarily to teach science; but it is her mission to bring us into such a condition that we may have strength to apprehend and to know. She is to restore us to such right relations and to give us such spiritual strength, that we shall be able to apprehend the mysteries of God, whether they are revealed in nature or in his word. This accords with the history of the church and of science in the past. Though the advances in science are not to be credited, as a rule, directly to the church; yet the new life and vigor, which have come into the world with the church, have no doubt furnished the inspiration and motive for the advancement which has been made.

St. Paul, however, not only points us to the fact that the aim

of the church is to enable us to attain to such transcendent knowledge; he also points us to the condition on which such knowledge is possible. That condition is that we be rooted and grounded in love. "That ye, being rooted and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all the saints what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge."

The possibility of knowing is here conditioned on something back of the intellect in the will. To say the least, this is not in accordance with the way in which men ordinarily look at the subject, nor in accordance with the way in which the subject is treated in our ordinary psychologies. Ordinarily we look upon the act of cognition as an immediate act of the intellect, and that all that is necessary is that the mind should be confronted by truth and reality. There seems to be an idea in the popular mind, at least, that man naturally possesses the ability of knowing the truth, when he sees it; and that all that is necessary is that we should be confronted by truth and reality and apply ourselves to it, in order to have a perfect knowledge of it. But such is certainly not the teaching of Jesus nor of St. Paul. Jesus makes our knowing depend on our doing. "If any man willeth to do his will, he shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God, or whether I speak from myself." (John 7: 17.) He charges the Jews with being unable to understand his word, because they had placed themselves into alliance with the devil. "Why do ye not understand my speech? Even because ye can not hear my word. Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father it is your will to do." (St. John 8: 43, 44.) Because it was their will to do the lusts of the devil, therefore they were unable to know or understand his word. And with this agrees this statement of St. Paul. Not every one will attain to the ability of comprehending the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, or of knowing the love of Christ; only those who are rooted and grounded in love.

This presents to us a very interesting psychological problem.

How can the will affect and determine our knowledge? How can love be a necessary condition for knowing the truth? Often we think that we must know the truth in order that love may be awakened in the heart. How can the opposite be established, as is here affirmed?

Possibly we may get on the right track for solving the problem, if we keep in mind that knowing is not a simple but a complex activity. There are two factors to be taken into consideration, and at least two conditions necessary. There must be truth to be known and the mind to know. The existence and presence of the former is a necessary condition; but the existence and healthy activity of the latter is no less necessary. That I may see, light as an external fact is a necessity; but a healthy eye is no less a necessary condition. Sight is impossible except as there is a susceptibility in the eye to be affected by the waves of light. Each sense has such a susceptibility for certain knowledge, and for that only. For this reason we can neither see sound, nor hear light. It is just so with our knowing the truth. Not only must the truth be at hand as an objective fact for the mind, but the mind must be so attuned that it shall be able to respond to the truth and recognize it as truth. There must be an inner susceptibility of being affected by the truth in order that the mind may have an apprehension of it. Where the mind is not in accord with the truth, it can no more perceive it as the truth, than an organ of sense, as the ear, which is not in accord with the light, can perceive the light as light.

But that quality of the soul which brings it into accord with the truth is love. The fundamental attribute of God's character is love. Hence to know Him as truth, there must be in the soul that which enables it to respond to that fundamental attribute of his being. Hence to know him as he is, we must be rooted and grounded in love. Without that condition, we can not know his love; and without knowing his love, we can not know the breadth, and length, and depth, and height of his being and thought; and without knowing that, we can not know

the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, which he has set before us in the outward universe. Hence without this fundamental disposition of the will, we can not know aught anything by which we are confronted in the outward universe by which we are surrounded. We may know things in part; but we can not know them in their right relation; and so ultimately we will find ourselves to be mistaken with regard to all. What we do seem to know will turn out at last to be but empty show and dream.

We can thus see what the Church, as the kingdom of God's grace, has to do with science. As said above, it is not the mission of the Church to teach science as such; but it is her mission, as the bearer of God's grace to the hearts of men, *to enable them to know*, to bring them into the condition where they shall have strength and ability to comprehend the mysteries of God. And hence her mission on earth can not be reached till all the saints shall have been brought into this condition.

III. We have, however, not even yet reached the end. Our being strengthened with might in the inner man, Christ's dwelling in our hearts, and our being made strong to apprehend and to know,—all are to an end still beyond. It is that we may "be filled with all the fulness of God."

This statement involves more than usual difficulty. How can a finite being be filled with all the fulness of the infinite God? If I were to stand on the shores of the great Pacific, and if I should be told to fill a cup in my hand out of the fulness of the mighty ocean, I should understand the command, and should have power to execute it; but if I were told to pour all the fulness of the great ocean into the insignificant cup in my hand, a task would be laid upon me which I should be unable to fulfill. So if St. Paul had said that we should be filled out of the infinite fulness of God, we could very readily understand his meaning; but when he affirms that we, insignificant creatures of the dust, shall be filled with all the fulness of God, he confronts us with a mystery which it is difficult for us to grasp. It is true, a modification has been suggested in the translation, so as

to do away with the preposition "with," making the statement read, "that ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God." (R. V.) But that hardly lessens the difficulty; for it is still implied that the fulness of God shall in some way find a place in us.

Shall we say that this is impossible, that this can not be the meaning of St. Paul? Yet is it not implied in the statement which has already been made, that Christ shall dwell in our hearts? We have no difficulty in accepting the statement of St. Paul in regard to Christ, that "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." But if he abide in the heart as a personal and permanent guest, is it not implied that with him all the fulness of the Godhead must also abide in us? St. Paul seems to imply as much where he makes that statement in Col. 2: 9; for he immediately goes on to say, "and in him ye are made full." (R. V.)

Man was originally created in the image of God. "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him." (Gen. 1: 26, 27.) This statement is unqualified. Not only did God create man in his image in some one particular or aspect of his being; but in the totality of his being, he is the image and likeness of God. It is true, this image has become marred by the fall; yet it has not been destroyed, and will again be restored through the processes of redemption. Hence the only adequate ideal for man's life is to be found in God. In nothing lower can we find a satisfying model. Instinctively has humanity recognized the fact that the development of all the powers of manhood carries us upward to the divine. The perfect man must also be God. Hence the standard, which the Saviour has set for our life, is the perfection of God. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." (St. Math. 5: 48.) That does not mean, perfect simply in mind, or perfect simply in moral conduct, but perfect in the totality of being. We are to be filled up with every grace and virtue, until each is a perfect image and likeness of the corresponding virtue in the

being of God. This much seems to be implied in the statement of St. John, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, *we shall be like him.*" (1 John 3: 2.) We shall then have bodies like unto his own glorious body. To this we readily give our assent, because this is plainly taught. "Who shall change our vile body, that it shall be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself." (Phil. 3: 21.) But will any affirm that our being like him is limited to this changing of our bodies into the likeness of his glorious body? Nay, this is only a presumption that we shall be like him also in all other respects. We shall be like him mentally, "for we shall see him as he is." We shall also be like him morally, for we shall be perfectly holy even as he is holy. So far there seems to be but little difficulty. Surely, if we are to be like him, we will be like him in these respects. But of him we readily admit that "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Shall we say that we are to be like him in every other respect, but not in this? Logically we seem to be driven to affirm that we shall be like him even in this; and this statement of St. Paul, "that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God," seems to demand no less. As his perfect image, we shall be made to reflect all the perfections of his being and character. We shall be filled up with all the perfections of his grace and glory.

When this end shall have been attained in all the saints, then shall the aim of the Church also have been realized. When every living stone in the grand edifice of the temple of our God shall thus be made to reflect all the perfections of God, then shall it indeed be "his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all." But so long as any of the living stones which compose that building shall reflect less than his perfect beauty and glory, so long will the aim and end of the Church remain unrealized.

It is true that when we look at the Church as it now is, or at

the life of the saints as they now are, it seems impossible that such an ideal should ever be realized. Yet that is the ideal set before us. It is, of course, idle to dream that an ideal so high and lofty shall be realized in the few short years allotted to the life that now is. It is impossible to attain it even in this present order; but in the unfolding of the mystery of God's providence, it will be reached. It can not be attained until "the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." The revealing of the sons of God must wait on the revealing of the Son of God; but "when he shall appear, we shall be like him." Hence we may well look for the "blessed hope," as well as hasten "unto the coming of the day of God."

V.

ON THE EARLY RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER.

THE Puritan settlement of New England was made by men who held at first two entirely distinct views as to the Reformation of the Church. The men of Plymouth, 1620, were the Come-outers of that time. They held that all established Churches were of the devil, that the only true Church was the voluntary union of the believers in Christ on the basis of the New Testament. They also rejected the liturgy which reminded them too much of Romanism. They were true Congregationalists—the first of that name in history. On the other hand the later Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1628, was formed by Puritans proper, that is members of the Church of England, who believed in and loved that Church, who had no objection to an established Church, but who desired the Reformation of the Church to proceed much farther than it had under Elizabeth. They desired all forms and ceremonies abolished which suggested anything of Popery, they desired the doing away of all offices, like of those of Archbishops, Archdeacons, etc., which had no countenance in the New Testament, and they desired the reformation of doctrine after the pattern of Geneva. But this radical Reformation the authorities in England were by no means inclined to carry forward; in fact, they were much rather inclined to a reactionary policy in the direction of the old Catholic regime with its severity and ceremonial uniformity. So England became a place too hot for both parties. Especially for the Pilgrim Congregationalists, who had formed their first

church at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, thence removed to Leyden, in Holland, and thence to America.

This fact, however, presents itself that whenever these two separate and distinct schools of immigrants became well established in Massachusetts, they came together on a common basis of church polity, and that polity was not the Puritan churchmanship of Endicott and his followers, but the independent position of Brewster and the Plymouth colony. The far-seeing mind of John Robinson, the Pilgrim pastor at Leyden, who did not accompany his flock across the Atlantic, saw this result. "There will be no difference," he said, "between the Conformable ministers and you when they come to the practice of the ordinance out of the Kingdom of England." Freed from the fear of the English Bishops and from the trials of the Star Chamber Courts, it was natural that the Puritan Colonists should establish a religion in which the dreaded and hated Episcopacy should be left out. As Bancroft remarks, "Episcopacy had no motive to emigrate, it was Puritanism almost alone that came over, and freedom of Puritan worship was necessarily the purpose and result of the colony." When Skelton and Higginson were sent over as the ministers of the Salem colony, they were set apart to their office by the church as though no other authority was recognized but the local church. A solemn day of fasting and prayer was set apart by the Governor. The new ministers, who had been ordained to the Church of England where they had exercised their ministry, were asked to give their views of the way in which God calls men to the ministry of the word. "They acknowledge there was a twofold calling; when the Lord moved the heart of man to take that calling upon him and fitted him with gifts for the same; the second, the outward calling, was from the people, where a company of believers are joined together in covenant to walk together in all the ways of the Lord." After this a vote was taken by ballot and Skelton was elected pastor and Higginson teacher, two offices which were soon combined into one. "They accepting the choice," in the words of a contemporary letter,

“Mr. Higginson and three or four of the gravest members of the church laid their hand on Mr. Skelton, using prayers therewith. This being done then there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson.”* This was the first New England ordination, July, 1629, and by this step the Puritan churchmen of Massachusetts Bay forever cut themselves from the leading strings of the mother Church. But the most interesting part of the day's proceedings was the formal extending of fraternal good cheer on the part of the Separatists of Plymouth. The assistance of these men was desired on account of their larger experience in church government, and the position of both parties in the howling wilderness drew them together and made them look upon each other as brethren. A storm delayed the voyage of the delegates till the business was nearly over. “But later in the day”—and I quote here Dr. Leonard Bacon, “before the solemn rites of ordination were over, the messengers of the Plymouth Church, Gov. Bradford himself being one of them, came into the Assembly. They saw what had been going on, they heard the statement of what had been done—the mutual and public profession of the holy covenant, the free election by the church of its own officers, and then, in behalf of their own Church, they declared their approbation and concurrence. By them that elder church, cradled at Scrooby, nurtured and schooled at Leyden, and now at last victorious over the sufferings and temptations of the wilderness, greeted its younger sister in apostolic position with the right hand of fellowship. The church that had been brought over the ocean now saw another church, the first born in America, holding the same faith in the same simplicity of self-government under Christ alone. It had become manifest that in the freedom of this great wilderness there was no reason why the Separatists should separate from the Puritan, nor why the Puritan, who came ‘to practice the primitive part of church reformation,’ should purge himself from separatism. The first church formed in America was formed by a voluntary separation from the world and a

* See Leonard Bacon, *Genesis of New England Churches*, pp. 474 sq.

voluntary gathering into Christian fellowship. Its charter was the New Testament, and from that charter it deduced its right to exist and to govern itself by officers of its own choice and ordination. It acknowledged no King in Christ's Kingdom save Christ himself and no priest in the spiritual temple save the one High-Priest within the veil. Robinson had not lived to see that day, but he had foreseen it and his prophecy was fulfilled.''' *

I wish you to keep this fact in mind, as helping to understand the philosophy of American history, that the people of most of the colonies, in the formative period of our annals, were trained under a democratic rather than a prelatic form of church government, in which their responsibility to God alone was emphasized, and in which, even against their own will, they were brought up in habits of self-restraint, obedience to law, and in the love of liberty, independence and progress.

The word liberty reminds you of what at first seems an anomaly, that is, the absence of liberty in the constitution of the New England Colonies. These colonies were granted to the companies that received them by charters from the home government. It was in a sense a private transaction, and the immigrants had a perfect right to make such regulations as they deemed best for the carrying on of their estate. They came to America for a field for the free-working of their ideas of worship and government. That field was granted them and their rights within their charters were supreme. We have no more right to complain of their intolerance than we have to complain that our neighbor does not cultivate his farm or train his family according to our ideas. If it be said they did not believe in universal religious toleration, it must be answered, very true, they did not believe in it; they thoroughly disbelieved in it. In this respect they were not ahead of their age. At this time there was no state in the world which granted complete religious toleration. Besides, they had this additional excuse, that what an old country might do with impunity might not be safe for an infant colony, whose very existence enemies in the old world

* *Ibid.*, pp. 476, 477.

were seeking an excuse to destroy. The colonists, therefore, sought to secure their own liberties, and were most jealous of anything which might put them in jeopardy. At the very beginning, in 1629, two persons protested against the Salem Church and set up a worship of their own, using the Prayer Book. They were sent back to England instantly. As one has said, "A conventicle of a score of persons using the liturgy might be harmless; but how long would the conventicle be without its surpliced priest; and when he had come, how far in the distance would be a bishop, armed with the powers of the High Commission Court."

The case of Roger Williams has caused a great deal of discussion. He arrived in Massachusetts, in 1631, a graduate of Cambridge University, and an Independent after Barrowe's own heart. He was a man of the most exalted type of piety and most conscientiously attached to his own views. Those views he announced both in season and out of season, and in a spirit by no means conciliatory and peaceful. It is hard to see how the colony could do otherwise than to banish him when we consider their situation. He held that the colony must cut off all connection with the Church in England as an anti-christian body, and that they ought to repent of ever having heard a parish minister in England preach. Not only so, but the king had no right to grant the patent for the colony, and he claimed that the cross should not be allowed on the royal ensign. Nor should an oath be administered to colonists who did not profess to be converted. It does not appear that the advanced views of Williams on toleration had anything to do with his banishment, or at least if it had, that was a very subordinate reason for the colony getting rid of the determined preacher. What appears to us the harsh dealings of Massachusetts with Roger Williams, the Quakers, and Anne Hutchinson, were really prompted by the instinct of self-preservation. The story of the Quakers is a sad one, but it was not the Quakers of the Lucretia Mott type with whom the colonists had to deal, but rather wild enthusiasts, who walked through the streets naked as a sign.

The founders of New England had not indeed attained to Locke's noble principle of toleration, a toleration which was embodied in Williams' Colony of Rhode Island and Lord Baltimore's Colony of Maryland, but in this respect they were not a whit behind the great colonies of Virginia and New York, and they were so far in advance of the old country that they reduced the number of capital offences from thirty-one to twelve.

Another point to be mentioned in the religious history of New England is the thoroughly religious character of the Commonwealth. It was founded by religious men for a religious purpose. The colonists were confessors of the faith. Everything was therefore ordered, from this point of view. Only the regenerate could be members of the church. Only church members could vote and hold office. The Governor and the members of the House of Deputies must be members of the church, but they must also be regenerate men, for church membership was also a qualification in England. In all the New England Colonies, except Rhode Island, it was the sacred duty of the Government to see that all abuses in church affairs and all heresy and schism should be suppressed. The theory of the Government was, rule by the best men. The church was supported out of the public treasury. Everyone had to attend church. Religious, as well as civil, offences could be punished as crimes. In 1631 the law was passed: "To the end that the body of the Commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it is ordered and agreed that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." It was this positive religious complexion of the colony which inspired those severe laws against heresy and heretics of which there has been so much complaint. The religious tone of the population is seen in nothing better than their relish for religious services. In bare, cold churches, the wind whistling under the rafters, the people assembled to listen to sermons an hour or two hours long, preceded by prayers from fifteen

minutes to an hour in length, interspersed with the music of David's psalms lined off and droned through in the most solemn manner. Some men from Friesland visited Boston about 1680, and they thus described a service they attended on a fast day: "We went into the church where in the first place a minister made a prayer in the pulpit of full two hours in length, after which an old minister delivered a sermon an hour long, and after that a prayer was made and some verses sung out of the Psalms. In the afternoon three or four hours were consumed with nothing except prayers, three ministers relieving each other alternately; when one was tired the other went up into the pulpit." The story is told by Dr. Dorchester that a certain preacher of that olden time, after preaching for over an hour, turned his hour glass over and went on. When he had gone three-fourths of another hour, the congregation had nearly all retired, and the clerk, tired out, interrupted the minister with the request that when he got through with his sermon, he lock up the church and put the key under the door, as he and the rest of the people were going home.* Whether this story is true or not, it seems to be a solitary instance. As a rule the congregations enjoyed these services intensely, and listened to the lengthy and often profound and learned disquisitions of their ministers with keen attention. Their discourses were discussed at home during the week, and their points were debated pro and con in every shop and farm and over every table and quilting frame. The civilization of New England was laid by men in whom the fear of God and the love of his truth was engrained in the innermost fibre of their being.

One more: I notice the pre-eminence of their clergy. They were in reality, if not in form, the chief officers of the state. Their opinions on all questions were of the utmost consequence. They had not the slightest hesitation in haranguing the people on their political duties. When in 1632 the deputy governor Dudley had a grievance against Governor Winthrop, he made complaint to two ministers, who convened a council of their

* Christianity in the United States (New York, 1888), p. 166.

brethren to wait on the parties in the dispute. They then went apart for an hour, and when they gave their decision the Governor meekly submitted. To speak ill of ministers was a serious offense. In 1636 a man was fined £40, and compelled to make a public apology, because he said that all the ministers of Boston but three preached a covenant of works. This leadership was richly deserved. The ministers of New England were, for the most part, men of noble life, lofty intellect, and profound learning. Pure, consecrated, self-sacrificing, learned, devout, wise men of affairs as well as men of prayer, they were princes among men. They knew their power, they magnified their office, but they never abused it. "For once in the history of the world," says Professor Moses Coit Tyler, "the sovereign places were filled by sovereign men. They bore themselves with the air of leadership; they had the port of philosophers, noblemen and kings. The writings of the earliest times are full of reference to the majesty of their looks, the awe inspired by their presence, the grandeur and power of their words.* The clergy of New England were the glory of the New World. It was impossible that with such men as the leaders and guiders and inspirers of the people the future of this land could be otherwise than glorious. The people trained to rugged thought, used to grappling with difficult problems, held their ministers to their very best work. The church presented the appearance of a company of theological students, as nearly everyone had his note book with him and took as copious notes as he could of the sermon. "Hardly anything was lacking," says Professor Tyler, "that could incite a strong man to do his best continually, to the end of his days; and into the function of preaching, the supreme function in that time in popular homage and influence, the strongest men were drawn. Their pastorships were usually for life; and no man could long satisfy such listeners, or fail soon to talk himself empty in their presence, who did not toil mightily in reading and thinking, pouring ideas into his mind even faster than he poured

* Hist. American Literature, (New York, 1878). I., 188.

them out of it."* Thus ministers and people constantly stimulated and helped each other. Is it any wonder that with such ministers and people God was training the country for liberty, and guiding New England to that leadership in politics and religion, in learning and literature, in missions and reforms, which has made her the saving leaven of a vast and heterogeneous population, the guiding star of a mighty nation.

* Ibid., pp. 191, 192.

VI.

ON READING.

BY PROF. J. B. KIEFFER, PH.D.

THERE is a very widespread misconception, not in our country only, but among civilized peoples generally, as to the purpose and function of schools of higher education, and in connection with discussions pertaining to them you doubtless have heard much unqualified nonsense about the self-made man. Now we certainly may make allowance for his existence so far as to admit that the whole world is a school, and it may very well be that a man who owes little or nothing to the class-room and the text-book may have a better certificate of education than even the average of those who hold diplomas from reputable modern colleges. But it is somewhat hard to see how this makes him more truly a self-made man than is he who owes much to the careful correction and discipline of the class-room. Both the one and the other trains himself for the duties of life by securing for himself the benefits arising from the accumulated experiences of the world. In fact all men, schoolmen as well as others, are self-made. No teacher, or text-book, or class-room, or system of education, can, by any species of juggling with opportunity and capacity, or the want of them, relieve an individual man of that supreme obligation. Moreover it is the better part of an education which a man gives himself. As neither a teacher nor a school can exercise his arms or his legs for him, so neither the one nor the other can force his mind into the kind of energetic action and struggle which is calculated to impart to it the glow of conscious power and enjoyment. It is indeed, natural to expect—and past experience

justifies the expectation—that he who enjoys leisure for study, and the guidance and stimulation, as well as warning, of men who have experienced the hardships and disappointments of the process which we call education, will find himself more effectively disciplined than those who grope through the dark ways of self-development unaided. But the only difference between the two would seem to be that the one, consciously or unconsciously, has ascertained and found it possible to avail himself of the world's organized wisdom, and the other for some reason has not.

Now of this education which a young man gives himself the reading of books is, and always has been, one of the chief constituent parts, and one in which it is, perhaps, easier to make mistakes than in anything else. For the true book is no easier to find than the true man, and "the art of right reading is as long and difficult to learn as the art of right living." For the bad book is as ubiquitous and obtrusive as the bad man, and the enormous multiplicity of modern books renders the task of choosing much more appalling than it ever was before. More than one hundred and fifty years ago Bishop Butler wrote: "The great number of books and papers of amusement which, of one kind and another, daily come in one's way, have in part occasioned, and most perfectly fall in with and humor this idle way of reading and considering things. By this means time, even in solitude, is happily got rid of without the pain of attention; neither is any part of it more put to the account of idleness, one can scarcely forbear saying is spent with less thought, than a great part of that which is spent in reading." And ever since he so wrote the cataract of printers' ink has never ceased to deluge the intellectual world with a persistency and complacency so unfaltering that both the pleasure and the profit of reading seem barely able to survive. "What are the books which it is vital for a young man to know?" has therefore been an important question to the students of any country and of any age. But I am inclined to think that it is a question of far more importance and significance to the students of

to-day and to the students of America than to those of any other age or of any other country. And the reason is plain to him who reads history with understanding. Surely it was not a mere chance that this continent, stretching from pole to pole amid the vast waste of waters, remained unknown to the world until fourteen hundred and ninety two years after Christ. The problems of human life which brought wisdom and suffering to the old world had exhausted both the sagacity and the powers of the men who struggled with them. Apparently it would have been impossible for those men or their descendants to carry those problems further than the stadium they had reached when Columbus sailed from Palos. China, as you know, so truly stands for the negation of the individual that the Chinaman first counts for something when he is dead; India can only think of the individual as an element of universal absorption; and Egypt, on the banks of her life-giving stream, broods in unending questionings about the mystery of life, and loses herself in riddles which she cannot solve, or even hope to solve. In Greece first men "walked in the light," as Euripides says, and in perpetual youth rejoiced in their conscious manhood. This was the birth and childhood of the individual. Its youth was disciplined by the rigorous morality of Rome, and its manhood trained in suffering amid the changing growth of Teutonic races. If now the development, or evolution, of the human individual had been the sole purpose of the creation of man, we might conceive that the progress of the race could have been brought to its fruition and close in Europe. But the perfection of the human race, as the "glorious consummation of nature's long and tedious work," involved, without doubt, another quite different and more difficult line of development. That "none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself" is more than a theological dogma. Man never is complete in himself, but finds his completion in a proper correlation with his fellowman. So that, as love is the fulfilling of the law, the apt adjustment of each individual to his fellow in a wisely organized human society is a farther advance towards the per-

fraction of humanity than is the evolution of the individual. And this farther stadium of advance the nations of the old world, it seems to me, could not have fully achieved, and for the following reason. The ideas of individual right which they had developed during the long centuries which intervened between the battle of Marathon and the discovery of America gave rise to rivalries, antagonisms, and suspicions so great and so deeply rooted that nation was bound to nation not by sympathy, but by necessity, and international alliances were alliances not of principle, but of expediency. In such a constitution of society diplomacy was the only thing of supreme virtue, and the armed hand the only law; might made right, and the successful lie was the crown of life.

That a new world whose existence had hitherto been unknown, or had only been dreamed of in the visions of poets and seers, should be discovered at such a crisis in the world's history we must undoubtedly consider a revelation of divine wisdom. And although at first, and of necessity, precisely the same conceptions of the individual as had prevailed in the old world were imported into and maintained in the new, constituting the basis of all private and public action, it was not long until a reorganization of society, such as had been dreamed of and even attempted in Europe, began to grow into notice as the coming problem of the world. And it was your forefathers' declaration that all men are created equal, and their almost prophetic selection of a motto for the coming nation—*e pluribus unum*—that announced the inauguration of the movement. It is a matter of history, too, how completely our civil war closed the door upon the undue elevation of the individual; and the prayer of Mr. Lincoln that "the government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth" was the dedication of America to the work of cointegrating mankind in a social compact whose law shall never again be "*Every man for himself*."

Now above all other forms of national life the democratic has most to fear from a false individualism,—from a social con-

dition in which all the units stand antagonistically apart from one another, and in which in both private and public life the appeal continually is to self-interest and not to social bonds and social duties. For it is not true that he who cares for himself cares also for his fellow-man. Much nearer the truth is the assertion that he who cares aright for his fellow-man cares best for himself. As the typical representative of the democratic idea in the modern world, our country will have to lead the way in the work of this social regeneration, and it is being driven to it at the present moment by most irresistible forces. There is a far deeper meaning in railroads and telegraphs than that they help man to satisfy his physical wants; and the public sentiment in the matter of syndicates, trusts, and monopolies, shows that there is present in our midst a very different conception of the rights and duties of wealth, both in its acquisition and its use, from that which was wont to prevail in the old world. Moreover the fact that socialism, in some form or other, has been accepted as a basis of thought and action by many Christian men and women, and even by some of the younger clergy, in America, is a proof that the discontent of the laboring classes, as expressed in socialism, trades-unions, labor amalgamations, co-operative associations, and so forth, is recognized as resting on some positive and solid basis, and as being fully justified by the inequality in life produced by an aggressive and unfeeling assertion of the rights of the individual to the full exercise and enjoyment of whatever power or wealth he can, justly or unjustly, appropriate, irrespective of any claims his fellow-man may have upon him and his. In other words, men are beginning to see that the unrest and discontent of the masses is really indicative of an upward movement and a conscious groping after better things. And we may be sure that it will have to be dealt with in a larger and more liberal spirit than it was in the days of Solon, or of the secession of the plebs to the Mons Sacer. To a much greater extent than ever before the masses now consist of educated men, and whatever solution they may reach to the problems

with which they are struggling will be a permanent realization of the possibilities of a larger life. Capital, so far as it is based on unrighteous principles, may cheat and delude them often; but capital has here the testimony of history before it, and may rest assured that the struggle will never end as it selfishly may hope to make it end. Sooner or later it will lead to a reconstruction of society on the basis of a correlation of its individual members as they never have been related before.

This, I think, is the problem to the solution of which young men in America during the coming generations must chiefly address themselves. That it is a much more complex problem than ever confronted the young men of any other age, and will require a greater diversity of gifts and a more truly liberal preparation for its adequate solution than any other, it is easy to see. It affects no single race or class of men, and is not confined, either in its operations or its results, to the immediate present. It is a world movement, alike in extent of space and duration of time, and for a season will find its chief centre here in America. Steam and electricity have prepared the way for it. They have reduced space and abbreviated time. They have made countless comforts possible; and in the food we eat and the water we drink, as well as the clothes we wear, they are assisting in the work of educating us to a recognition of the fact that our life belongs, not to ourselves, not to America, not to the nineteenth century, but to all mankind, and to eternity. The uses of these things are moral—for the sake of humanity and for the glory of God.

Under these circumstances the choice of a man's reading, as being part of his education is, indeed, a *very* serious matter. The precious hours will probably be few which any of you will be able to give to solid and earnest work with books, and the proportion of books that are not worth reading is to-day beyond computation. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Lang felt himself called upon to advise any young man or woman interested in letters to read good books, and not to read newspapers and magazines,—meaning, it is to be presumed, that

they should not permit magazines and newspapers in any important or exclusive sense to constitute the material of their reading. The advice of Lord Sherbrooke not to mind what we read, assuming that the reading of good books will come when we have formed the habit of reading inferior books, surely is bad advice. And the same judgment must be pronounced on that of Mr. R. L. Stevenson, that to form a good style one should read anything and everything. Desultory reading is the bane of sound scholarship, and a standing menace to character. Mr. Lowell found it necessary to qualify the crudeness of the assertion that any reading is better than none by quoting the Yankee proverb which tells us that, "though all deacons are good, there's odds in deacons." "Desultory reading," he goes on to say, "hebetates the brain, and slackens the bow-string of will. It communicates as little intelligence as the messages that run along the telegraph wire to the birds that perch on it." To be tempted by a new title or a new cover, and to conceive that we must read abundantly of the ephemeral literature of the day to keep in touch with the spirit of the age, is a weak delusion, the only profit of which goes to the bookmaker and his publisher. Moreover, "the enormous power, vivacity, and speed in every department of exertion" which strike the foreigner so forcibly as the leading characteristics of our people, are additional reasons for care in such a matter. Time and reserved energy are more precious here and now than ever before, and a mistake in education is for us therefore a much more irreparable loss than it was for any other people.

What then shall we read while we are in the course of being educated, and even after the so-called completion of our education? Mr. Frederick Harrison undoubtedly is right when he says that "a healthy mode of reading will follow the lines of a sound education;" and that "the first canon of a sound education is to make it the instrument to perfect the whole nature and character;" that "its aims are comprehensive, not special;" that they "regard life as a whole, not mental

curiosity ;” and that “ they give us, not so much materials, as capacities.”—But Mr. Herbert Spencer, in discussing the same subject, assures us that the uniform reply to the question “ What knowledge is most worth ? ” is science, and gives us plainly to understand in what sense he takes science to be the reply to this question when he says : “ For that indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of greatest value is science.” This view, promulgated by a man of transcendent ability, won its way into popular favor by its appeal to the pronounced utilitarianism of England, and of the modern world generally. It became the gospel of technical schools of every sort and description, and seemed to have the whole world before it as the scene of its triumphant progress. If it were correct we should have to say that the mental food best fitted to the digestion of all classes of men, and therefore the best course of reading for all classes of men, is science,—meaning thereby science in its applications to use. But though we may agree with Mr. Spencer when he says that science underlies sculpture, painting, music, and poetry, and that the facts of science are not in themselves unpoetical, we are not therefore bound to accept his conclusions. For all these things may be scientific in the sense of not being contrary to reason, without being either interpretable or communicable by science. They may include science, but not be included in science. For if Mr. Hugh Miller’s works on geology, or Mr. Lewes’s “ *Seaside Studies*,” do reveal a poetic power and capacity on the part of their authors, the poetry may exist there in spite of the science, and be due, indeed, to the same higher cause which made the science itself possible. The Greek who first told the beautiful story of Prokris and Kephalos surely had as high an appreciation of the beauty of a dew-drop as the modern physicist has, even though he did not know what the physicist does that the sudden liberation of the force which holds the elements of the dew-drop together would produce a flash of lightning. And the admission of so great a scientist as Mr. Darwin that although in early life poetry, painting, and

music had given him great delight, in maturer age he had lost all taste for art ; that he had no use for poetry or religion, and that the grandest scenes had long lost the power to stir in him any feelings of wonder, admiration, and devotion, would seem to destroy the contention that scientific pursuits do in any direct and positive sense contribute to the enjoyment of what is beautiful, or to the practice of what is good. For the doctrine which Mr. Darwin held that conscience is only the capitalized experience of the human tribe, and that there is no such thing as absolute or immutable morality, if carried out in daily life to practical conclusions, would certainly result in the death of human virtue. It was doubtless because of these faults in the thinking on which Mr. Spencer's doctrine was based that the institutions of higher education, and the classes of society to which art and religion are fraught with so much meaning, were slow to accept the new view. Men opened again their Aristotle and found that from of old the object of life was, not merely to live, but to live *well* ; that this living well was not an individual matter only, but depended on the relations of the individual to the past from which he sprang, and to the future which depends so much on him ; that it was a complex possibility involving ideals as well as facts, and hopes and duties as well as passions and pleasures ; that it will not suffer the individual to concern himself mainly with his own ego, nor permit the perversion of life into the desolation which follows close upon a rampant subjectivism. Mr. Spencer's work on education appeared thirty years ago, and his theory has been tested at such centres of learning as Oxford and Cambridge, as well as at the universities on the continent. "Investigations into the post university career of science scholars," says Mr. Glazebrook, "show that there is a very marked advantage on the side of those who had the more liberal education ;" that "the powers of observation, correlation, and inference are not as fully developed by science-training as was anticipated ; and that "the modern system seems to be after all but a system of imparting information,"—which is "the least part of knowledge."

These practical deficiencies in this view of education have, within the past few months, been summarized and emphasized in the admission of a scientist as great as Mr. Spencer that the law of the survival of the fittest will not account for the existence or the exercise of the highest powers of the human being. "Some day, I have no doubt," says Mr. Huxley, "we shall arrive at an understanding of the evolution of the æsthetical faculty; but all the understanding in the world will neither increase or diminish the force of the intuition that this is beautiful and that is ugly." "The practice of that which is ethically best," he proceeds, "involves a course of conduct which, in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence. In place of ruthless self-assertion, it demands self-restraint; in place of thrusting aside and treading down all competitors, it requires that the individual shall not merely respect, but shall help his fellows; its influence is directed not so much to the survival of the fittest, as to the fitting of as many as possible to survive. It demands that each man who enters into the enjoyment of the advantages of a polity shall be mindful of his debt to those who have laboriously constructed it, and shall take heed that no act of his weakens the fabric in which he has been permitted to live." This surely is science come to its senses—this surely is science in agreement with religion and art—this noble declaration that the law of love, and not the law of strife—the law of self-restraint, and not the law of self-assertion—is the higher law of human progress. And the declaration that by the theory of evolution science explains humanity in part, but only in part, and that the good and the beautiful lie in a realm apart from it and beyond its reach, contains a truth full of meaning to schemes of education. It puts the greater weight not in an appeal to utility, but in an appeal to ethics and æsthetics, and finds of necessity therefore that the source of greatest power in education lies with the latter, and not with the former. Mr. Spencer's education is the education of a fanatical and rabid individualism, the education german to precisely that phase of society in which

modern European life seems to have culminated ; the education which shall be based on Mr. Huxley's view will be the education of a consciously organized social compact, or of that phase of society which the larger movements of the day seem to be ushering in, and for which young men are in duty bound to fit themselves, no matter in what profession their special work may have to be done.

It goes without saying, indeed, that the study of science, and and the scientific study of various branches of learning, must enter into any course of liberal education which is to meet the wants of the present age. It is not this which I am here concerned to gainsay, but only that view of the educative value of the study of science which is centered upon its utility, and which magnifies the value to education of the various processes of science and its countless formulas, its lists of facts and laws not linked together by any philosophical connection ; that view of the educative value of science which fails to see, as Mr John Stuart Mills says, " that a man's mind is as fatally narrowed, and his feelings towards the great ends of humanity as miserably stunted, by giving all his thoughts to the classification of a few insects, or the resolution of a few equations, as to sharpening the points, or putting on the heads, of pins." Neither the brute scientific fact, nor the brute abstract law has any educative value. The fact must " appear as the incarnation of the highest and most universal laws, and the laws as worlds of truth enveloped and expressed in an infinite number of sensible facts." If this connection of the visible fact with the invisible laws of the beautiful and the good is not maintained in education, and the student's mind is made the register merely of sensible data with a view to future use, true education will perish, and with it will perish also even the possibility of the application of science to use. All progress needs and is inspired by ideals. This is true of science as well as of every other sphere of human exertion. Kepler beheld the sublimity of the planetary system before he discovered its laws, and Newton dreamed of a universal harmony before he realized what the law of grav-

ity is. All teaching which fails to realize and base itself on this truth in part at least misses its aim. Your linguist who deals only with optatives and iota-subscripts, with umlauts and subjunctive moods, with comparative phonetics and the law of analogy, is, indeed, a dry-as-dust, and makes his abode far from the haunts of men. Your mathematician, accustomed only to abstract reasoning, and not accustomed to observing and correlating the mixed data of real life—its hopes and fears, and joys and miseries—never reasons in ordinary affairs better than ordinary men, inasmuch as “the mathematical spirit is the art of seeing only one side of a question.” And your botanist—well, “if we lose a botanist we can get another,” as Fouillee says, “but if we lose a poet he is never replaced,” and this goes to the heart of the matter. So far as science enters into a scheme of education it, too, should be humanized, *i. e.*, its highest aim like all other efforts in education should be to excite wonder, admiration, reverence; to cherish sympathy and love, and to create enthusiasm and develop idealism. For even your physician, or your civil engineer, is a man and a citizen, and the world’s claim to his services is based on his being these first and chiefly, and not on his professional ability. And in these capacities a man needs that his whole nature shall be kept pure and noble and tenderly sensitive, and that his life shall be directed and moulded by lofty ideals, rather than that his powers as a man shall be lost amid the deluge of human miseries while he is pottering about pills, or his soul stupified by the poison of a selfish materialism while he is building bridges by the rule of thumb. And when science does this it comes so near to the sphere of the beautiful and the good that it is itself creative, and so falls within that definition of the universality of knowledge which Plato gives, when he says: *μηδέν ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν ὃ οὐκ ἐπιστήμη περιέχει*, there is no good thing which knowledge does not comprehend.

But if science in its general theories because they are beautiful, and not because they are useful, is capable of being used for the production of this idealism in human life, how much

more effectual for this purpose must those studies be whose chief function it is to deal with and to present the ideals of human life. The self-realization of man in his works must proceed primarily from that by which he is differentiated from all other existing things, and that is his ethical-esthetical nature—from that dual force in human life which the keen sense of the Greeks expressed with so much precision and power when they spoke of the cultivated man as *καλὸς καγαθός*.

These studies are history, literature, and philosophy. But of these there is again a gradation of value. For although we have come to know that "the vices and vicissitudes of kings and queens, and the dates of battles and wars" do not constitute the chief substance of history; but that "the development of human thought, and the progress of art, of science and of law" are vastly more interesting in the study of man, and vastly more valuable in the direction of human conduct, we cannot forget that history is the most external and superficial memory of communities. It is, indeed, an essential part of every scheme of education, and by right of merit is indispensable in every course of reading we may adopt. It gives us a sense of the unity of human life and effort, and, if attention is not concentrated on individuals, but on the moral and social conditions of a period, it throws into relief the positive and immutable principles which underlie human action; presents, as does Herodotus, whole galleries of unrealized subjects even for the artist's work, and so keeps before the student and the reader an ideal for human imitation. But this external and artificial record of man's life does not seize upon the taste, the tone, the sentiment, the opinion, and the character of men in the same profound and intimate way as literature. Literature has been called, and rightly called, a "living psychology," *humanity in miniature*. It is an introduction to the ideas and sentiments of a given age, or of the human race, working themselves out into concrete form. It is that part of the material of instruction which appeals first to imagination and sentiment, and deals with what acts on the heart and the character, instead of only on

the memory and the understanding and it is therefore, that portion of the material for our study and entertainment which is calculated primarily to rouse in us the faculty of wonder, to stir up feeling, to touch the heart, and so to sway the judgment in the direction of what is pure, delightful, true, and good. And we must not forget that, when its boundaries are properly enlarged, it includes such works as the Republic, the Apology, and the Phædo of Plato; the Politics and Ethics of Aristotle; the Analogy and the Sermons of Butler—that, in other words, it reaches over into the realm of that other study which, and which alone, can unify our efforts in science, in history, and in literature—and that is *philosophy*. A philosophy of science, a philosophy of morality, and a philosophy of society, are the essential complements to a course of liberal education. Without them our thinking and our acting are without order and harmony. But we do not need that this philosophy shall be a philosophy of materialism, a philosophy of psychophysics—a philosophy which shall make absolute certainty its aim. What we do need when we leave college, and while we are engaged in the duties of our vocation in life, is some criterion, some rule of faith, some doctrine of science and of life, to guide us among the conflicting and confusing influences at work in modern society. And this a study of philosophy, as the culmination of our education, gives us. And at the same time it brings us face to face with problems which cannot be solved, forces us to realize within ourselves that they are insoluble, and so creates within us an abiding sense of the absolute and eternal, and makes our education a loving and efficient handmaid to our religious nature.

But first in point of time and importance in a course of reading comes the poetical and emotional, not the historical or philosophical, side of literature. Men need that their imaginations shall be roused and fed, their feelings stirred and quickened, by the portrayal of human struggle and passion, before they are to begin to reflect and ponder over cause and effect. And they will be much mistaken if they imagine that the literature of

their own country, or their own age, is enough for a liberal education. It may be that there was a time when such a national monologue was possible; but if so, it had passed away long before the beginnings of recorded history. The Tell el Amarna tablets seem to show that even the literature and art of ancient Egypt were not of purely spontaneous growth; and if ever we shall be able to fill up with historical data the gap of two thousand years between the date of the first intercourse of the Greeks with the people of the land of the Nile and the days of Homer, we shall find that the art of Æschylus and Phidias was as truly a derived art as is that of Scott and Browning. But whether so or not, for us the case is clear. Chaucer, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Scott are only younger brothers in that family of artists whose ancient prime was graced by the authors of the Vedic hymns and the Litany of Accad. Nay, it even seems that native power and growth need foreign inspiration. St. Paul, we are told, was the first true successor of Aristotle, and the Christian church the crown of Roman history. In like manner an American author says, and says rightly: "Anglo Saxon literature, so far from being the mother, was not even the nurse of the infant genius which opened its eyes to the sun of England five centuries ago." The English epic and the English drama are the offspring of Homer and Virgil, of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Menander and Diphilus, of Ennius and Pacuvius, of Plautus and Terence. And in the same way English Didactic, Lyric and Pastoral poetry find their original homes in Boeotia, Italy and Sicily. Nay, even of English prose, Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes, Tacitus, Livy and Cicero are the acknowledged sources.

If now our course of reading is to follow the lines of a liberal education, it cannot ignore this truth. These ancient authors were the fathers of English literature, and had achieved for themselves that glorious distinction by moving mankind to the depths of their souls, and moulding human life on an ideal scale, ages before Chaucer knew his Boccaccio, or Barclay his Vergil. The assize of letters had placed them therefore far beyond the

reach of question as the greatest and the wisest of those who had peered into the mystery of life, and had been rapt in an ecstasy away by the sublimity of its heroism and the terror of its misery.

Taking poetry and higher fiction only, as supplying best the daily needs of our emotional being, it is not difficult to determine what should be the first and chief rule in our dealings with books. It is simply "*Read the best.*" For when you have read it and have made it your own—a possession inalienable through all your years—you will know who have been and are the great spirits of the human race, and you will gladden your heart in joy and in sorrow, in youth and in old age, in all the conditions and periods of your lives, with the inheritance they have bequeathed to you, their fellow-men. And that glorious people, the record of whose uninterrupted poetic fertility covers more centuries than does the literature of any other race, will furnish you with your first fruitful beginnings. For Homer is the very fountain head of pure enjoyment, of all that is fresh, simple, innocent and dignified—the "eternal type of the poet,"—in creative power comparable only to the three or four to whom has been vouchsafed in the highest degree and fullest exercise that clear poetic vision which makes poets the interpreters of humanity to all time. And what Homer is to Epic, that Æschylus is to dramatic art—"the first immortal type," whose Prometheus still is the most sublime of poems, and whose Agamemnon, "in majesty and mass of pathos, remains without a rival." Moreover who would wish his life to be untouched by the exquisite tenderness of an Antigone, or the soul's nobility of an Œdipus; or not to know him of whom Philemon sang:

"If as some say, men still in very truth
Had life and feeling after they are dead,
I had hanged myself to see Euripides."

So too, the wild, keen, subtle, daring, extravagant, boisterous and irrepressible Aristophanes—a spirit that measured all the stages from most unbridled and licentious farce up to most splendid bursts of lyric poetry—is "the eternal type of comedy."

And, even if it be true, as some say, that Livy is the only Homer that Rome ever knew, still the *Æneid* must forever hold a place in the world's eternal poetry for its grace alike of conception and of form ; whilst Horace only fairly misses the perfection of those he imitates, and remains to us "in wit, grace, sense, fire and affection" beyond disparagement of criticism.

And if we come nearer to our own age we shall still find ourselves under the spell of master spirits not unworthy to company with those we have named, and shall still be moving along the lines of our own beginnings. For surely the horrors of the *Nibelungen Lied*—"that Thyestian tragedy of the North,"—and the gallantry of the Arthurian Cycle may well stand beside Ulysses' final struggle, and the death and burial of Old King Priam's son. These, along with the song of Roland and the Tale of the Cid, are the embodiments of the national genius of the west of Europe, as were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of pre-historic Greece. But what shall we say of that prophet, historian and philosopher with whose *Divine Comedy* modern poetry as Christian is ushered in—what of the Epics of Ariosto and Tasso, and of the lyrics of Petrarch? Here whole ages and whole races of mankind have been charmed, instructed and inspired, and the power of man to epitomize the life and labor of his kind handed on to races more remote in blood and temper from the men of Rome than they from those of Greece. And why should we know nothing of Corneille, Racine and the courteous, pure and manly Moliere? Or to take up what is said to be the only work of the Spanish imagination which has found rank amongst the great masterpieces of human creation, why should we leave the tender, humanly pitiful and sympathetic Cervantes either a closed book for ever, or nothing more than a collection of ridiculous episodes for boys to laugh over? Chaucer, Shakespeare and Milton, Burns, Byron, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth and Tennyson, each in his way, and each according to the measure of his ability, has left the world a vision of what man might be in startling contrast with what he is for our encouragement, guidance, warning and correction.

And so of prose romances, Fielding, Goldsmith and Defoe

had a more ambitious and glorious purpose than to cater to our amusement, or to put money into their empty pockets. Their transcripts of human nature, their pathos and dramatic power, rank them as poets in all but name, while the lessons they contain mark them as philosophers and benefactors for all time. And Scott, the last of the great creative spirits, of whom it has been said that "to have drunk in the whole of his glorious spirit is a liberal education in itself;" Scott who "lost himself in delighted observation and record," and so was great with something even of Homeric greatness,—who will measure for us the area of human life which his works cover, or weigh with precision the amount of influence he has exerted in forming the character of the generations that have followed him? No course of reading which leaves his immortal works untouched can be thought to be complete, or to have given those for whom it was sketched the full measure of power over their lives which such a course should exert.

And this is but a section of what a course of reading should contain—but a small part of the greatest and best of the works of the great and good men of the world. To indicate in the same way what should be done in other departments would keep us much too long. Of this, however, we may be sure. To master the one hundred or more volumes which may contain the works which the world has adjudged immortal is a labor for our whole lives, and not only for the few years we shall spend at college. But, if it has not already begun when we come to college, it should begin with our first work in college,—I am speaking now of reading as collateral to, but independent of, our work in the several departments of study at college,—and it should begin with what I have indicated, with poetry and the higher kinds of fiction, as having most to do with exciting and stimulating that feeling of wonder through which alone the human being can be educated. And much of your guidance as to what further you shall read will come to you of its own suggestion, if the beginning is properly made, and the habit is fairly formed of reading only what is matchless and immortal. I say *habit* intentionally because this kind of reading is neither

easy nor attractive to the average young man, at first and necessarily. It requires an effort to so master one's self as to be in condition to enjoy these masterpieces. For it is easier and more tempting as an occupation to dawdle over the vapid monstrosities of a railroad station's news-stand than it is to read even Pope's translation of Homer,—easier to browse idly and insatiably amid the new novels which daily are overwhelming the world, than to rouse and fortify the will to the enjoyment of the *Divine Comedy*. For the noises and excitements of the artificial life we lead overbear and destroy natural enjoyment. What pleasure has the gambler in railroad stocks in the leafy woods and the tumbling hills in the joyous month of June? Even so little can he have in this ideal world, this land where the heroes dwell and gods still walk with men, whose mind is drugged with the slow-working but deadly poison of idle reading. To the generality of men to read and love good books is no more a natural gift than it is to do and love good deeds. It is, on the contrary, a faculty to be acquired by careful and constant training,—a priceless boon when achieved, but the result only of watchful self-mastery. The insatiable reader is by no means the best reader just as the crowding of the mind with multitudes of facts is not the best means of education. Especially at the outset of our training, thoughtful and systematic reading requires hard study. But as our recompense enjoyment at last lies about us on every hand, and we are in the garden of the gods. For, in the words of Richard de Bury, "these are the masters who instruct us without rods and ferules, without hard words and anger, without clothes or money. If you approach them, they are not asleep; if investigating, you interrogate them, they conceal nothing; if you mistake them, they never grumble; if you are ignorant, they cannot laugh at you."

But this is true only of the good books, only of those whose influence has sunk deepest into human nature and covered the widest scope of human action,—only of the works of genius which the common consent of mankind has adjudged beyond the reach of corrupting age, perishless and priceless for ever. And these books we should not be content to read once only,

for so no one can come to know them; nor to take it for granted that we have read them because we have read what other men have said about them. Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Scott, and Cervantes, together with all the other immortals, have a daily and lasting value. If profitable reading comes only by habit and conscious effort, profitable knowledge of these poets comes only by repeatedly and lovingly reading their works. Their music and their spirit must become part of our nature; and we must become part of the world they have created, and feel the inspiration of their ideals moving in our lives and impelling our wills.

But if this is to be done in addition to the reading demanded by the several departments of study in a college course, it is very evident that no time will be found for the species of literature which the ordinary news-stand offers us. For, even with the careful exclusion of all such material, and with the most judicious weeding out of newspapers and magazines, we shall find it almost impossible to avoid another grievous fault in our reading, and that is, allowing it to run into narrow and settled grooves. For, above all things, we should see to it, whether we read much or little, that it be general, and bring us into contact with various phases of life and a wide extent of thought. And in this you will have no unerring guide. You will have to find firm footing in the vast field of literature for yourselves. You yourselves will have to measure out your times and seasons and adapt your strength to your opportunity. It will suffice if in any degree what I have attempted to say shall help you to avoid an aimless wandering over a trackless waste; shall prevent you from attempting to read everything only to know nothing, and from spending the greater part of your leisure time in maundering over books which leave no mark,—aye, no mark, save that terrible stupor of the soul which will prevent you from hoping for anything larger, higher, nobler or purer than your present petty pleasure, and will render you forever unable to estimate the value of lofty ideals, or to commit the guidance of your life to geniuses who have had fellowship with all that is absolutely true, beautiful and good.

VII.

NOTICES OF NEW BOOKS.

CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR, or Comfortable Words for Burdened Hearts. By Gilbert Haven. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1893. Price, \$1.25.

This volume consists of nine papers prepared for the press by Bishop Gilbert Haven of the Methodist Episcopal Church, just before his death thirteen years ago. They are now published by his son who recently revised the manuscript and added some notes which he thinks may be of interest to the reader. The papers were all originally prepared as sermons, and as such were preached at various places and on different occasions. They are without exception noteworthy on account of their pleasing style and striking thought, and are admirably suited to give comfort to burdened hearts. The subjects discussed in them are, "Two Greek Books on the Life Beyond," "God Hiding and Revealing Himself," "The World Vanishing," "Man Fails, God Abides," "Taking Children in His Arms," "Endurance—Happiness," "The Blessedness of the Blessed Dead," "The Christian Soldier," and "The Enigma Solved." Those seeking a book to comfort the afflicted and sorrowing will find this one especially deserving of their attention.

THE PROPHECIES OF DANIEL EXPOUNDED. By Milton S. Terry, S.T.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Garrett Biblical Institute. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1893. Price, 75 cents, net.

There is given in this little volume not a commentary on the Book of Daniel, but a series of exegetical essays on the apocalyptic portions of the book. These essays have been prepared and published with a hope of correcting, to some extent, the unsound methods from which the author believes that the prophecies of Daniel have greatly suffered. The work as a whole is a master piece of exegesis. We have read it throughout with great interest, and would heartily commend it to all our readers who are at all interested in the prophecies which it aims to expound. Its expositions of the visions of the prophet, are indeed, most satisfactory. The book deserves to be widely circulated and read.

A STUDY OF THE BOOK OF BOOKS. By Rev. W. H. Groat. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1893. Price, 20 cents.

EXEGETICAL STUDIES. The Pentateuch and Isaiah. By Henry White Warren, D. D. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1893. Price, 40 cents, net.

Both these little books are of the same order. They have been

prepared more especially for Epworth Leagues, Sunday School Assemblies, Intermediate Classes, Young People's Societies, Boys' and Young Men's Classes in Y. M. C. A. work, and Supplemental Lessons in the Sunday School; but they are also suited for use in the family and for private study. The first named is intended for those who have graduated from the primary department, and who are not yet sufficiently advanced for the normal class; the second is designed for more advanced scholars. Both books are well suited to the purpose for which they have been prepared, and it would be well if they, or similar works, were more used in our Sunday Schools generally. If such were the case our young people would soon be better informed concerning the Scriptures than they now are. In many of our Sunday Schools the instruction imparted from Sunday to Sunday is too disconnected and superficial to amount to much. The preparation of these exegetical studies is a hopeful sign, as it indicates a felt want for something better than what we have been having.

TWO LETTERS TO A MINISTER BY PAUL THE APOSTLE. A Biblical Study.
By Bishop John H. Vincent. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1893. Price, 20 cents.

The publishers of this booklet are issuing a series of booklets called "The Book of Book Series," which presents a brief account of the different books of the Bible. To this series the little treatise before us belongs. In it Bishop Vincent gives a concise account of the character and teaching of the two Epistles to Timothy. "We may depend," he maintains, "upon these as the letters of Paul. They are full of his personality. This ardor and frankness, this penitence for the past, this joy of salvation in the present, this confidence as to the future, this condemnation of sin in every form, and this exaltation of truth and holiness are not the work of an imposter. They are true, according to every canon of internal evidence, to the Paul of the Acts and of the other Epistles. The work of no ancient classic author has such strong external and internal proof of its genuineness. The topography which is recognized, the opinions and social conditions of the times, both in the Church and in the world, the object of the writing, the themes discussed, the utter weakness of the impeachment, the weight of testimony from the ages, all sustain the claim as to Paul. We may be sure that these epistles are not a fraud." In his comments on the contents of the Epistles Bishop Vincent is generally very happy. Great truths are strikingly presented and sparkling thoughts are to be found on every page. Throughout, indeed, this little treatise will be found to be very suggestive and spiritually stimulating.

Vol.

NEW SERIES

No. 1

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The Mission to Russia was commenced in January, 1849, and I have published my last report except during the years 1861-1867, when I published a report on a tour I took over the country. In the past thirty years I have applied the system of physiology and theology taught by members of the Reformed Church, I headed for a time at Moscow and after that at St. Petersburg, and have been the general director of science and literature with the theological quadrangle and the other societies. It has been the intention of the mission to enlighten the Russian people by the Reformed Church, in the Moscovite style. During this period of over a quarter of a century the Reformed Church has grown into larger proportions and has gained other large numbers of converts, while the great progress has been made also in the theological education of the Russian people at the mission.

In looking at the same as a whole, it seems to advance with the
and widen its sphere of influence. As the only theological quarterly published
Reformed Church in the country, it will seek to be an organ for the whole Church
as it is a theocratical and doctrinal, it will stand in the vanguard of
the Reformed Church in the Rev T Apple D Dec 22 of the Reformed Church
Reformed Church and be a valuable instrument in the hands of the Reformed Church
to be a place of discussion of all matters of interest to all in that Church who
who continue in, whatever may be their more or less advanced theological views.

But were it not a business done in a shop and of readers, it will be a
work of a great order and for the interests of reasoning and theological learn-
ing to be read by the people of the country in general. Taking for its motto, the
ancient motto, "The truth shall make you free," it will be in sympathy with free
inquiry and the spirit of living charity, as necessary conditions for harmonious
enlightenment. It is believed that we have a rational religion may still be neces-
sary to be yet in the light of reason and the logical inquiry, these lines of ap-
proach be lead us to. The Quarterly Review will, therefore, be in harmony
with a new school of thought which will grow in the Christian
thought of the world. While it continues to be a theological Review, it will
also be a general conduit and literary channel, of every that science and
which is of the time, and must be freely open to harmony, agreement and union.

The 1915 and 1916 Arizona Harvests included by Table 11 Apple, 1915 and 1916, 1917 included by other sources in the Returned and other Churches, 1918 and 1919 - 1920 - 1921 - 1922 - 1923 - 1924 - 1925 - 1926 - 1927 - 1928 - 1929 - 1930 - 1931 - 1932 - 1933 - 1934 - 1935 - 1936 - 1937 - 1938 - 1939 - 1940 - 1941 - 1942 - 1943 - 1944 - 1945 - 1946 - 1947 - 1948 - 1949 - 1950 - 1951 - 1952 - 1953 - 1954 - 1955 - 1956 - 1957 - 1958 - 1959 - 1960 - 1961 - 1962 - 1963 - 1964 - 1965 - 1966 - 1967 - 1968 - 1969 - 1970 - 1971 - 1972 - 1973 - 1974 - 1975 - 1976 - 1977 - 1978 - 1979 - 1980 - 1981 - 1982 - 1983 - 1984 - 1985 - 1986 - 1987 - 1988 - 1989 - 1990 - 1991 - 1992 - 1993 - 1994 - 1995 - 1996 - 1997 - 1998 - 1999 - 2000 - 2001 - 2002 - 2003 - 2004 - 2005 - 2006 - 2007 - 2008 - 2009 - 2010 - 2011 - 2012 - 2013 - 2014 - 2015 - 2016 - 2017 - 2018 - 2019 - 2020 - 2021 - 2022 - 2023 - 2024 - 2025 - 2026 - 2027 - 2028 - 2029 - 2030 - 2031 - 2032 - 2033 - 2034 - 2035 - 2036 - 2037 - 2038 - 2039 - 2040 - 2041 - 2042 - 2043 - 2044 - 2045 - 2046 - 2047 - 2048 - 2049 - 2050 - 2051 - 2052 - 2053 - 2054 - 2055 - 2056 - 2057 - 2058 - 2059 - 2060 - 2061 - 2062 - 2063 - 2064 - 2065 - 2066 - 2067 - 2068 - 2069 - 2070 - 2071 - 2072 - 2073 - 2074 - 2075 - 2076 - 2077 - 2078 - 2079 - 2080 - 2081 - 2082 - 2083 - 2084 - 2085 - 2086 - 2087 - 2088 - 2089 - 2090 - 2091 - 2092 - 2093 - 2094 - 2095 - 2096 - 2097 - 2098 - 2099 - 2100 - 2101 - 2102 - 2103 - 2104 - 2105 - 2106 - 2107 - 2108 - 2109 - 2110 - 2111 - 2112 - 2113 - 2114 - 2115 - 2116 - 2117 - 2118 - 2119 - 2120 - 2121 - 2122 - 2123 - 2124 - 2125 - 2126 - 2127 - 2128 - 2129 - 2130 - 2131 - 2132 - 2133 - 2134 - 2135 - 2136 - 2137 - 2138 - 2139 - 2140 - 2141 - 2142 - 2143 - 2144 - 2145 - 2146 - 2147 - 2148 - 2149 - 2150 - 2151 - 2152 - 2153 - 2154 - 2155 - 2156 - 2157 - 2158 - 2159 - 2160 - 2161 - 2162 - 2163 - 2164 - 2165 - 2166 - 2167 - 2168 - 2169 - 2170 - 2171 - 2172 - 2173 - 2174 - 2175 - 2176 - 2177 - 2178 - 2179 - 2180 - 2181 - 2182 - 2183 - 2184 - 2185 - 2186 - 2187 - 2188 - 2189 - 2190 - 2191 - 2192 - 2193 - 2194 - 2195 - 2196 - 2197 - 2198 - 2199 - 2200 - 2201 - 2202 - 2203 - 2204 - 2205 - 2206 - 2207 - 2208 - 2209 - 2210 - 2211 - 2212 - 2213 - 2214 - 2215 - 2216 - 2217 - 2218 - 2219 - 2220 - 2221 - 2222 - 2223 - 2224 - 2225 - 2226 - 2227 - 2228 - 2229 - 2230 - 2231 - 2232 - 2233 - 2234 - 2235 - 2236 - 2237 - 2238 - 2239 - 2240 - 2241 - 2242 - 2243 - 2244 - 2245 - 2246 - 2247 - 2248 - 2249 - 2250 - 2251 - 2252 - 2253 - 2254 - 2255 - 2256 - 2257 - 2258 - 2259 - 2260 - 2261 - 2262 - 2263 - 2264 - 2265 - 2266 - 2267 - 2268 - 2269 - 2270 - 2271 - 2272 - 2273 - 2274 - 2275 - 2276 - 2277 - 2278 - 2279 - 2280 - 2281 - 2282 - 2283 - 2284 - 2285 - 2286 - 2287 - 2288 - 2289 - 2290 - 2291 - 2292 - 2293 - 2294 - 2295 - 2296 - 2297 - 2298 - 2299 - 2300 - 2301 - 2302 - 2303 - 2304 - 2305 - 2306 - 2307 - 2308 - 2309 - 2310 - 2311 - 2312 - 2313 - 2314 - 2315 - 2316 - 2317 - 2318 - 2319 - 2320 - 2321 - 2322 - 2323 - 2324 - 2325 - 2326 - 2327 - 2328 - 2329 - 2330 - 2331 - 2332 - 2333 - 2334 - 2335 - 2336 - 2337 - 2338 - 2339 - 2340 - 2341 - 2342 - 2343 - 2344 - 2345 - 2346 - 2347 - 2348 - 2349 - 2350 - 2351 - 2352 - 2353 - 2354 - 2355 - 2356 - 2357 - 2358 - 2359 - 2360 - 2361 - 2362 - 2363 - 2364 - 2365 - 2366 - 2367 - 2368 - 2369 - 2370 - 2371 - 2372 - 2373 - 2374 - 2375 - 2376 - 2377 - 2378 - 2379 - 2380 - 2381 - 2382 - 2383 - 2384 - 2385 - 2386 - 2387 - 2388 - 2389 - 2390 - 2391 - 2392 - 2393 - 2394 - 2395 - 2396 - 2397 - 2398 - 2399 - 2400 - 2401 - 2402 - 2403 - 2404 - 2405 - 2406 - 2407 - 2408 - 2409 - 2410 - 2411 - 2412 - 2413 - 2414 - 2415 - 2416 - 2417 - 2418 - 2419 - 2420 - 2421 - 2422 - 2423 - 2424 - 2425 - 2426 - 2427 - 2428 - 2429 - 2430 - 2431 - 2432 - 2433 - 2434 - 2435 - 2436 - 2437 - 2438 - 2439 - 2440 - 2441 - 2442 - 2443 - 2444 - 2445 - 2446 - 2447 - 2448 - 2449 - 2450 - 2451 - 2452 - 2453 - 2454 - 2455 - 2456 - 2457 - 2458 - 2459 - 2460 - 2461 - 2462 - 2463 - 2464 - 2465 - 2466 - 2467 - 2468 - 2469 - 2470 - 2471 - 2472 - 2473 - 2474 - 2475 - 2476 - 2477 - 2478 - 2479 - 2480 - 2481 - 2482 - 2483 - 2484 - 2485 - 2486 - 2487 - 2488 - 2489 - 2490 - 2491 - 2492 - 2493 - 2494 - 2495 - 2496 - 2497 - 2498 - 2499 - 2500 - 2501 - 2502 - 2503 - 2504 - 2505 - 2506 - 2507 - 2508 - 2509 - 2510 - 2511 - 2512 - 2513 - 2514 - 2515 - 2516 - 2517 - 2518 - 2519 - 2520 - 2521 - 2522 - 2523 - 2524 - 2525 - 2526 - 2527 - 2528 - 2529 - 2530 - 2531 - 2532 - 2533 - 2534 - 2535 - 2536 - 2537 - 2538 - 2539 - 2540 - 2541 - 2542 - 2543 - 2544 - 2545 - 2546 - 2547 - 2548 - 2549 - 2550 - 2551 - 2552 - 2553 - 2554 - 2555 - 2556 - 2557 - 2558 - 2559 - 2560 - 2561 - 2562 - 2563 - 2564 - 2565 - 2566 - 2567 - 2568 - 2569 - 2570 - 2571 - 2572 - 2573 - 2574 - 2575 - 2576 - 2577 - 2578 - 2579 - 2580 - 2581 - 2582 - 2583 - 2584 - 2585 - 2586 - 2587 - 2588 - 2589 - 2590 - 2591 -

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